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**An Integrative Approach to Family Language Policy
Experiences: The Case of French-English Bilingual
Families in the UK.**

An Integrative Approach to Family Language Policy
Experiences: The Case of French-English Bilingual Families in
the UK.

Sonia Wilson

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The Open University
Faculty of Wellbeing, Education & Language Studies
School of Languages and Applied Linguistics

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An Integrative Approach to Family Language Policy Experiences: The Case of French-English Bilingual Families in the UK.

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ABSTRACT

The present mixed-method study examines the family language policies (FLP) of transnational French-English bilingual families in England. The research commences with a quantitative portion aimed at identifying existing parental beliefs and language management methods through an online survey ($n=164$). The findings revealed the strong presence of heteroglossic beliefs combined with more traditional monoglossic ideas about bilingualism. The survey results also highlighted significant incongruence between parents' reported beliefs regarding the flexible nature of bilingualism and their support for a language separation strategy. The dynamic between ideologies, management and practices was essentially driven by the practical concern of increasing heritage language input rather than by ideology.

The second phase of the study was a qualitative investigation designed to obtain an emic perspective on how particular language policies were experienced by transnational families and their individual members. 6 of the 164 online respondents took part in case studies, together with their partners and school-age children. Drawing on a combination of interviews, language portraits and observations of family interactions, the findings revealed that language planning decisions were shaped not only by parents' overt language ideologies but also by covert motivations closely linked to their level of attachment to their country of origin as well as their attitudes to the local culture. The results also demonstrated that FLP may have a profound impact on the experiences of all family members.

This study argues that in order for parents to embrace their heteroglossic beliefs and engage in flexible language practices, additional sources of heritage language input must be provided to multilingual families. Additionally, it is essential that researchers adopt a more integrative approach to FLP including young heritage speakers' perspectives in order to understand the impact of parental language planning on children's bilingual experiences.

This work is dedicated to the memory of my brother.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

FLP	Family Language Policy
HL	Heritage Language
HS	Heritage Speaker
OPOL	One Person-One Language
ONS	Office for National Statistics
INSEE	Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Économiques
EFA	Exploratory Factor Analysis
TA	Thematic Analysis
CA	Conversation Analysis

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A NOTE TO READERS

The following articles from this project have been submitted for publication. The first one is based on the quantitative investigation of this thesis which examines parental language ideologies and the relationship between language beliefs and language practices. The second article draws on the qualitative portion of this study and focuses on the perspectives of the 8 school-age children who took part in this research project.

- Wilson, S. (2019). (under review). 'To Mix or not to Mix: Parental Attitudes to Translanguaging and Family Language Policy Choices'.
- Wilson, S. (2019). 'Family Language Policy Through the Eyes of Bilingual Children: The Case of French Heritage Speakers in the UK', *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, pp.1-19. DOI: 10.1080/01434632.2019.1595633

Introduction

Motivation for the Study

This research project came as a natural outcome of my own experience of both growing up as a second-generation immigrant in France and migrating to a few different countries during my adult life. That being said, it was only after becoming a parent in the UK that I fully became aware of the peculiar situation in which transnational families found themselves in. When my two children were born, I immediately addressed them in French, which, at the time, seemed to come more naturally and felt more closely linked to the domain of emotions. Their father, on the other hand, was more comfortable using a mix of English and his native language, German. Both my son and daughter first started acquiring French, German, and to a lesser extent, English. However, as they entered formal education, English became their dominant and preferred language within only six months. At the same time, as the conversations with my children were becoming more complex, I found myself struggling to discuss certain topics in French since I had only been discussing them within an English-speaking environment in previous years. It was then that I first started pondering the best strategy to ensure that my children would both thrive as English speakers growing up in Britain while continuing to develop the language that would allow them to build a relationship with their extended family in France. As a result of these thoughts, we joined a French supplementary school in which I had the opportunity to meet other parents navigating the intricate experience of bilingual and bicultural childrearing. After some time attending the supplementary school and through my casual conversations with various children and parents, I became intrigued by the apparent large number of children, including my own, who disliked going to French school and declared that they preferred speaking English. As a mother of multicultural children, I could sympathise with other parents who were convinced that developing their children's bilingualism at all costs was in the best interest of their offspring, despite the effort and frustration it entailed for the whole family. However, having grown up as a second-generation Berber Algerian in France, I could also remember the disagreements between my parents and me, regarding my own linguistic preferences and cultural identity. This is how I set out to investigate

the family language policies of transnationals with the firm intention to adopt an integrative approach in order to both explore the parents' perspectives and give voice to the children.

Overview of the Study

Post-modern society has been characterised by the development of economic and political transnational links in the form of multinational corporations, free trade agreements and politico-economic alliances such as the European Union. Whilst the notion of transnationalism originated from the spheres of international economics, diplomacy and business, it has recently been used to refer to individuals moving between two or more social spaces while preserving cultural attachments across borders, time and generations (Duff, 2015; Hirsch and Lee, 2018; King, 2016). This new terminology, as opposed to more traditional terms such as *first-* and *second-generation immigrants* (Lee and Suarez, 2005) reflects the increasing global mobility that has led to the formation of transcultural families and the appearance of linguistic superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007; Blommaert and Rampton, 2011). Relocating to another country is not only a life-changing event for first-generation migrants, but it also establishes a multilingual and multicultural family environment for second-generation transnationals. In the UK, the latest national census (2011) recorded that 31% of children born in the country had at least one parent from another country, and in 2016, 19.4% of primary school children in England were classified as speakers of English as an additional language.

The increasing number of multilingual households has raised concern within British society over how well these transnational families integrate in mainstream Britain (Brown, 2013). More particularly, education policy makers have traditionally focused on the majority language development and academic performances of children from an immigrant background (Tsimpli, 2017). Thus, childhood bilingualism has often been studied within the formal classroom setting while language development through socialisation within the family environment has received little attention. Fortunately, the emerging field of Family Language Policy (henceforth FLP) -that is the explicit and implicit planning of language and literacy practices within the home and between family members (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009), has finally been drawing attention to transnational children's potential for dual language acquisition through family language practices. The promotion of bilingualism and the recognition of its cognitive and social benefits over the past twenty years have created enthusiasm for

bilingual childrearing among academics and the wider society. As a result, the search for effective parental language strategies to develop the home language among second generation speakers has rapidly become the basis for FLP research.

Whilst it is now widely accepted that preserving minority languages within transnational families provides bilingual children with the opportunity to embrace their multicultural heritage (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Cho, 2015), it is also important to recognise the complex and demanding nature of language management within multilingual families (Okita, 2002). The formation of a transcultural family involves negotiating disparate and sometimes conflicting cultural values and identities, which poses challenges to all family members (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Duff, 2015; Little, 2017). So far, the way in which parents and children experience the minority-majority language reality has been largely overlooked (Schwartz, 2010). If the field of FLP has seen an increasing number of publications regarding the efficiency of various parental language management methods, the legitimacy of the parental beliefs about bilingualism underpinning such language strategies and expectations have rarely been studied (Piller, 2002). More importantly, and in order to support multilingual families, the effects of these language planning choices on the bilingual experiences of transnational families, individually and collectively, must be investigated.

Following a few recent studies calling for academics to explore multilingualism as experience (Zhu and Li, 2016; Busch, 2017), this study aims at contributing to a change of focus in FLP by moving away from the concern with the impact of parental language planning on children's bilingual proficiency, towards understanding what is really happening within transnational families. In order to do so, the present research examines a variety of FLP approaches among French-English bilingual families in the UK, with a view to gaining insight into the impact of such language approaches on the bilingual experiences and interrelationships of parents and children.

A mixed methodology was used to answer 4 research questions. First, an anonymous online survey was conducted as an exploratory measure to address the following enquiries:

- 1) *What are parents' reported beliefs about bilingualism and dual language acquisition?*
- 2) *What is the relationship between parents' language beliefs, language management and language practices?*

The second phase of the study consists of multiple in-depth case studies designed to contextualise the FLPs of these transnational families. The qualitative portion of the research project aimed at obtaining additional elements of response to question (2) (*What is the relationship between parents' language beliefs, language management and language practices?*) as well as answering research questions (3) and (4) below.

3) *What is the link between family language policy and parents' experiences of transnationalism and bilingual childrearing?*

4) *What is the impact of family language policy on children's bilingual experiences?*

This qualitative phase of the study includes semi-structured interviews, email interviews, observations in the participants' homes and language portraits by the children.

Thesis Outline and Structure

The study is presented as follows:

Chapter 1 describes the research context including a brief overview of the UK immigration landscape, its education policies related to bilingual children and societal attitudes towards minority languages.

Chapter 2 begins with a discussion of the concept of Family Language Policy as the theoretical framework of this research. It then provides a review of the literature on FLP as well as part of the research on heritage speakers and transnational migration which could be fruitfully applied to the investigation of childhood bilingualism within the family environment. This chapter ends with a presentation of the rationale for this research.

Chapter 3 starts with an outline of the research methodology developed in this study and discusses the rationale for selecting mixed methods. This is followed by a description of the quantitative approach chosen to explore existing parental beliefs and practices through an anonymous online survey. A detailed account of the survey design, the participant selection methods and the data analysis techniques is provided. The third segment in the Methodology Chapter is dedicated to the qualitative methods employed to investigate the experiences of 6 French-English transnational families. The use of a case study methodology is discussed, followed by a description of the four data collection tools employed to gain a holistic

understanding of these families' experiences, namely, individual semi-structured interviews with French parents and children, email interviews with English parents, observations of family interactions and language portraits created by the children.

Chapter 4 is dedicated to the online survey findings and presents a description of the respondents' socio-demographic profile, followed by a statistical analysis of the results.

Chapter 5 deals with the qualitative portion of the study and presents the 6 case studies in turn. It also provides a cross-case analysis and discussion of the findings.

This thesis concludes with a discussion of the contributions and implications of the quantitative and qualitative investigations as well as the limitations of the research project. Finally, suggestions are presented for future research on Family Language Policy.

Chapter 1: Research Context

1.1 European Immigration in the UK

The creation of the European single market in 1993, comprising 15 countries¹, including the UK, has provided labour mobility and fostered migration between European nations for the past two decades. The enlargement of the EU saw the A8 countries² join the block in 2004, followed by Malta and Cyprus in 2007, and Croatia in 2013. Since the beginning of the UK's membership of the EU, immigration from the original EU-14 members has remained constant with between 100,000 and 200,000 incomers every year, representing half of EU inflows in 2015 (Vargas-Silva and Markaki, 2016). Arrivals from A8 countries, on the other hand, have been regularly increasing, with Polish transnationals becoming the largest EU community in Britain (911,000 in 2016 as estimated by the Office for National Statistics' estimates (Office for National Statistics, 2017). Many British nationals have also embraced freedom of movement within the EU with an estimated 785,000 living in another EU country in 2014, 69% of whom resided in Spain, France and Germany (Institut National de la Statistique et des Etudes Économiques (INSEE), French Census 2014). This European phenomenon of transnationalism, combined with migration from outside the EU (261,000 a year in 2018, (Office for National Statistics, 2018) has been conducive to the flourishing of multicultural British society, also described by Vertovec (2007) as 'super-diversity'- that is 'a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade'.

If the net economic contribution of EU immigration has been clearly demonstrated (Dustmann and Frattini, 2014), and whilst its cultural benefits may be appreciated by many, newcomers are often blamed for the financial hardship experienced by members of a society enduring austerity policies and economic downturn (Fetzer, 2018; Spencer, 2016). This is why freedom of movement, as one of the European Union's fundamental principles, was an important factor in the UK's 2016 European Union membership referendum and subsequent decision to leave the

¹ EU15 include France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Greece, Denmark, Luxemburg, Belgium, Sweden, UK, Austria, Portugal, the Netherlands, Ireland and Finland.

² A8 countries include Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

EU. The present research, therefore, was conducted at a time when strongly opposed attitudes towards immigration and multiculturalism had been co-existing and shaping the political and social landscape of Great Britain. Given that this study is concerned with the internal factors shaping transnational families' bilingual experiences, the decision was made not to raise the issues surrounding the UK's exit of the European Union during the data collection process. Despite this decision, the topic was brought up by a few participants, showing the importance of the socio-historical context in which parents are raising their children (Okita, 2002).

1.2 French Population in the UK

The UK has been receiving a continuous and constant flow of French immigration for the past twenty years, with the Office for National Statistics estimating that 165,000 French-born nationals were residing in the country in 2015 (Office for National statistic, 2017), whilst the French Consulate evaluated the number of French passport holders at around 300,000. According to the 2011 UK census, 48.4% of the French population in Britain lives in London and 16.4% resides elsewhere in South East England. French transnationals' main motivations for moving to Great Britain include its geographical proximity, its language, a dynamic labour market driven by the financial service sector and a lower unemployment rate (4.4% in the UK against 9.5% in France in 2017, according to Eurostat figures, (Eurostat, 2017). French nationals in Great Britain are a fairly young population with 26% being less than 18 years old and 40% ranging between 18 and 40 years old. In 2015, 7% of French citizens in Britain were students, and another 8% were economically inactive, including those staying at home with children and the early retired. Among French citizens professionally active in the UK, 29% worked in the banking and finance sector and 25% were employed in the public sector, for example, in education, health and residential care. Overall, French nationals in the UK constitute a relatively well-off community with 65% holding 'higher level professions' consisting of managers, directors and senior officials, professional and technical occupations (Standard Occupational Classification 2000 Volume 1, Office for National Statistics, 2000) compared with 44% of the UK workforce as a whole. In 2017, only 6% of French citizens in the UK worked in elementary occupations (blue-collar jobs) against 11% of the total UK workforce (Office for National Statistics, 2015). The population studied in this research can, therefore, be described as a group of highly educated, middle to upper-middle class individuals with good proficiency in English.

Despite the changes that may be engendered by the imminent departure of the UK from the EU, French nationals moving to Britain have, so far, enjoyed relative ease in the administrative processes of settling in the country. Besides, French migrants' acculturation in the UK- that is the changes occurring as a result of contact with culturally different individuals or groups (Gibson, 2001), may generally be described as simple in comparison with migrants from non-Western countries, due to the similarities between the French and British cultures (Rudmin, 2003). Both countries consist of predominantly Caucasian populations and a number of ethnic minorities affiliated with their respective former colonies, and both nations share Western values as well as a Christian heritage. Besides, as mentioned previously, most French transnationals in Britain hold white-collar positions, which implies that they have a reasonably good command of the English language and may therefore encounter less stress related to linguistic adaptation (Schwartz, 2013). Finally, it is important to point out that many British people may be familiar with the French culture and language owing to the presence of French as a foreign language in a majority of UK secondary schools (Long, 2018). When it comes to transmitting French as a home language to younger generations born in the UK, the geographical proximity of France is likely to allow more physical contacts with the extended family and enable access to various sources of language input (Okita, 2002). Such frequent trips to the home country are less realistic for transnational families from Pakistan or India as they would require extensive travel.

Although French people seem to enjoy some apparent economic, professional and linguistic advantages over other sociolinguistic communities in the UK, immigration and cultural adaptation remain complex experiences that are unique to every individual (Kuo, 2014). In other words, subjectivity and personality also play a role in an individual's perception of the degree of difficulty involved in the migration process. Another layer of complexity linked to transnationalism appears when individuals from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds form a relationship and establish a transcultural family.

1.3 Inter-marriage

Not only has high mobility within Europe created multiculturalism at societal level, it has also led to an increased number of linguistically exogamous marriages between individuals from different cultures (Guardado, 2017). Intercultural families have been the object of multiple sociolinguistic studies in which they have been referred

to as ‘linguistically intermarried couples’ (Jackson, 2009; Piller, 2001), ‘bilingual’ or ‘multilingual couples’ (Piller and Takahashi, 2006) and ‘cross-linguistic’ or ‘cross-cultural marriages’ (Constable, 2005). In this research, the terms ‘interlingual’, ‘linguistically intermarried’ and ‘linguistically exogamous’ families are used interchangeably to describe families in which parents have different native languages (Guardado, 2017).

Whereas migrant partners with a common linguistic and cultural background also face the challenge of raising children in the host country while preserving the minority language, interlingual families experience an additional layer of complexity in relation to family language planning (Okita, 2002). The choice of a home language may indeed be less problematic for linguistically endogamous couples whereas competing languages may affect the language policies of interlingual families. When both parents are migrants from two different countries, decisions regarding which languages to speak at home may become highly political since they may have an effect on the children’s relationships with each parent’s extended family. In cases where one of the spouses or partners is a native speaker of the host country’s language, there is more of a linguistic imbalance due to the predominance of the majority language in the family’s environment. The latter configuration is studied in the qualitative portion of the present research in which families are composed of a British parent, as the majority language speaker and a French parent, as the minority language speaker.

Research on FLP among interlingual families has underlined the role of mothers in such family settings. If the role of gender in childrearing dynamics has evolved over the years, women have remained the main caregivers. This may explain why most FLP studies of linguistically exogamous couples consist of a female minority language speaker and a male native speaker in the host country. In many cases, mothers rather than fathers, tend to give up full-time employment in order to provide childcare (Lyon, 1996; Okita, 2002). As Guardado (2017:5) points out, ‘one of the parents is often positioned in an unfavourable position in the relationship, be it as non-native speaker, migrant, female, economically dependent, or other positionings based on national and cultural background, or all of the above’. Although this research is not directly concerned with gender power relations in interlingual families, the FLP dynamics created by the interplay of the majority and minority-language parents’ roles remain an important characteristic of the families in this study. As many other studies in FLP, this research concerns a traditional nuclear

family structure and may not be representative of other family settings such as same sex unions or adoptive families.

1.4 Heritage Languages in the UK

1.4.1 Defining Heritage Language & Heritage Speakers

As transnational families are becoming more common in the UK, multilingualism is developing on the ground with 4.2 million people (7.7% of the population) speaking languages other than English as their main language according to the latest national census (UK and Wales Census, Office for National Statistics, 2011). The native languages of first-generation migrants in Britain are commonly referred to as ‘minority languages’, ‘community languages’ or ‘home languages’ (Pauwels, 2016). The 2011 census also recorded that 31% of children born in the UK had one or both parents from another country (Hall, 2013). In 2009, a survey by the UK Department for Education and Skills (then Department for Children, Schools and Families) reported that in the capital alone, nearly 45% of primary school pupils and over 35% of secondary school students spoke a language other than English at home. For these children, most of whom were born in the UK, unlike their parents, English is most often acquired as a first language. Therefore, the language they speak at home, with one or two immigrant parents, is commonly referred to as a *heritage language* (henceforth HL).

‘Heritage language’ and ‘heritage speaker’ are relatively new terms (Valdés, 2001; Tallon, 2011). Heritage language is often used to refer to two very distinct types of language varieties: indigenous or regional languages such as Welsh, Gaelic or Scots in the UK, and immigrant languages (Fishman, 2001; King and Ennserr-Kananen, 2013). In many FLP studies, and in this research, the focus is on heritage languages as a product of immigration. Heritage Speakers (HSs) are defined by their specific sociolinguistic environment: they grow up learning both the minority and majority languages, while rapidly becoming dominant in the majority language as they become immersed in the mainstream education system (Polinsky, 2016). Both the minority and the majority languages are developed early in life, in a naturalistic environment, and both therefore qualify as ‘native’ or ‘first’ languages (Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinsky, 2013). Defining the term ‘Heritage Speaker’ is a complex task

as scholars have used definitions that apply to the specific community in their research, but which cannot be used as an umbrella term (Ibid). As a result, there is not a 'one size-fits-all' definition (Carreira, 2004) and HSs' degree of proficiency in the HL seems to be the main point of disagreement in the characterization of a heritage speaker (Deusen-Scholl, 2003). This study explores the experiences of HSs with varying levels of HL proficiency and therefore, it uses Valdés' (2001) definition of a HS as

an individual who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language" (Valdés, 2001:38).

1.4.2 'Elite' vs. 'Folk' Bilingualism

For a long period of time, childhood bilingualism was considered detrimental to children's language development by many linguists, health professionals and education practitioners (Mennen, Stansfield and Johnston, 2005). After much effort to debunk the myths surrounding dual language acquisition, childhood bilingualism has been strongly promoted over the past two decades and many parents are now actively pursuing bilingual childrearing (King and Fogle, 2006). That being said, not all language combinations among bilinguals receive equal appreciation. Public discourses and societal attitudes to languages in the UK and throughout Europe have always favoured certain forms of multilingualism based on the perceived status of languages and on whether a second language is learned through formal education or acquired in a naturalistic environment. Bilingualism is generally more valued if it involves a language of cultural, social or economic prestige (Thomas, 2012). Multilingualism that is developed at school, in other words, by majority language speakers, is also perceived more positively than multilingualism acquired at home as a product of transnationalism. Polish, Punjabi and Urdu, as the 2nd, 3rd and 4th most spoken languages in the UK, are generally perceived as low status varieties as they are associated with economic migration and are deemed to hold little or no value in society. It is therefore not surprising that the European languages considered as higher prestige varieties are also the languages traditionally taught in British schools, namely French, Spanish and German, despite the fact that the UK government does not promote the teaching of any particular languages (Long, 2018). This opposition between high and low prestige bilingualism was first created by Fishman's (1966)

‘elite’ and ‘folk’ bilingualism dichotomy. The former refers to socially and economically high-status groups who are proficient in both the society’s majority language and another socially prestigious language which gives them additional value within said society. ‘Folk’ bilingualism refers to linguistic minority groups who often migrated to the host country for economic motives and therefore occupy sociopolitical positions of lower status. British society, and arguably most European nations, have ambiguous attitudes towards multilingualism since, on the one hand, elite bilingualism is celebrated and encouraged, and on the other hand, multilingualism, as a result of migration, is sometimes perceived as a threat to social cohesion and the preservation of national values (Block, 2007).

As far as the French language is concerned, it is clear that it has historically enjoyed strong political, cultural and economic prestige (Baker, 2001; de Mejía, 2013), which is still relevant today, despite the significant decrease of its popularity among secondary school pupils over the past few years (Tinsley and Doležal, 2018). Besides, since French has traditionally been one of the main foreign languages taught in UK schools, alongside German and Spanish (Long, 2018) many British people are familiar with this language. For all these reasons, French native speakers in the UK seem to fit Fishman’s definition of elite bilinguals as well as Valdés and Figueroa’s (1994:12) concept of ‘elective’ bilingualism in the sense that they are proficient in English and may still choose to transmit the minority language to their offspring due to the perceived advantages it may provide. In terms of HL transmission, families whose minority language is positively perceived in society are spared the additional obstacle that lower status varieties may be faced with.

Whilst it is undeniable that French as a minority language in Britain is generally, and some would say unfairly, more positively perceived than other immigrant varieties, it is necessary, when researching FLP, to overcome the binary representation of high and low prestige bilingualism in order to appreciate the complex challenges and experiences of transnational families in relation to today’s more global and mobile world (De Mejía, 2013). Besides, as Edwards (2004:27) points out, ‘elite bilingualism need not rule out motives of necessity more usually associated with the folk variety.’ While the population in this research has a relatively privileged place in UK society, this study follows Hélot’s (2007: 38) recommendation to adopt an integrative approach and ‘think (...) together of middle-class children’s bilingualism and that of minority (children), analysing similarities, rather than differences’. In any case, one characteristic common to all heritage

speakers in Britain, is the lack of support for and recognition of heritage languages in mainstream education.

1.4.3 HL in Mainstream Education

Formal language learning in Britain has been consistently undervalued in comparison to language learning in other European countries and educational organisations as well as industry have been calling for government action to raise the national level of foreign language competence (Long, 2018). As a result, languages have been included in the UK curriculum at Key Stage 2 (7 to 10 years old) since September 2014. Despite these efforts to promote formal language teaching, the British Council reported, in 2018, a significant decrease in language learning among secondary school pupils with only 47% studying a modern language against 76% in 2002.

Whilst all efforts are directed towards formal language teaching as a desperate attempt to develop bilingualism, there has been no recognition of the rich linguistic potential of HSs or of the opportunity to develop the country's language skills by supporting these children's existing knowledge of an additional language acquired through family language practices. A few government initiatives and non-governmental organisations have been concerned with children speaking English as a second language upon entering pre-school childcare or education (infancy to four years old). For instance, the National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) promotes the teaching of English as a second language in UK schools. The Government's Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) framework states that 'for children whose home language is not English, providers must take reasonable steps to provide opportunities for children to develop and use their home language in play and learning, supporting their language development at home'. However, the objective of such initiatives remains the rapid acquisition of English as the child's dominant language rather than the maintenance and nurturing of her bilingualism. From age five, children are encouraged and expected to function exclusively in the majority language and are assessed on English standards only.

It is understandable that ensuring a high level of English proficiency among all children in Britain should be a priority for education practitioners and policy makers. However, it is also essential to offer children with bilingual skills the opportunity to develop their entire linguistic repertoires through classroom language activities that suit their unique needs and potential. Unlike in the USA where many schools and universities distinguish between second language teaching and heritage

language teaching, and offer HL classes reflecting the local population, heritage speakers in the UK are limited to learning one of the traditionally taught varieties. In the few cases where Polish and Arabic are available at secondary education level, these languages are taught as foreign languages only since the curriculum is designed essentially for students for whom English is the first language. In the light of the lack of organised effort to support HL skills in the UK, parents and linguistic communities have been relying on their own resources and initiatives to develop bilingualism among second-generation speakers.

1.4.4 Supplementary Schools in the UK

Given the lack of institutional support for multilingualism, many communities in Britain have endeavoured to preserve their linguistic and cultural capital by establishing between 3,000 and 5,000 supplementary schools (Evans, 2015). These supplementary schools, also referred to as *complementary schools* or, more informally, as *Saturday* or *Sunday schools*, are attended by transnational children to complement their mainstream education. Since such supplementary schools are community-based initiatives, their focus varies from religion to culture and language (Creese, 2011), and teaching is delivered by members of the community, who may or may not have experience in children's education. However, as Creese (2009: 270) describes the situation, these schools do have a common and principal motivation, which is 'the fear of loss of language and culture and the consequent urge to protect and nurture their heritages' in an environment that is multicultural on the ground but not in policy. Complementary schools offer transnational children a 'safe space' (Creese and Martin, 2006) and sociolinguistic experiences that are not available through British mainstream education provision (Creese and Martin, 2006).

According to the *Institut Français* in London, there were 54 French supplementary schools in the UK in 2018 welcoming over 5,000 pupils. As for most linguistic groups in Britain, French supplementary schools are often created by parents concerned with transmitting their native language to their offspring and creating a sense of cultural and linguistic community within a diasporic context. The French government has traditionally been proactive in promoting the country's culture and language around the world, essentially through the *Organisation Internationale de la Francophonie*, a grouping of 84 member-states, either former French colonies or countries with a notable affiliation with French culture. Current

president Macron has committed to the revival of the international standing of the French language and recently stated in a major speech (October 2018):

The potential of *la francophonie* is immense; with nearly 275 million French-speakers worldwide, France remains a juggernaut in the global linguistic landscape.

Paradoxically, little support is available to second-generation French speakers born abroad. There are admittedly three French schools run by the French state in Britain, all located in the capital and following the French national school curriculum, which makes them more suitable for children who recently arrived in the UK after being schooled in France or for expatriate French families whose stay in England is only temporary. French supplementary schools in the UK may benefit from some degree of administrative and financial support from the French Ministry of European and Foreign Affairs through the FLAM association (Français Language Maternelle). Nevertheless, similarly to other linguistic minorities in Britain, when it comes to preserving and developing their children's bilingualism, French parents are left to their own devices.

In this study, families attending 32 different supplementary schools across the country participated in an anonymous online survey, and almost 30% of these participants were based in London, reflecting the high concentration of French nationals in this area, as previously described in this chapter. More details about the distribution of participants are provided in Chapter 3 (Methodology). As for the case studies conducted in the second phase of the data collection, they included 6 families from 3 areas: 2 in London, 2 in South East England and 2 in the West Midlands. These participants' respective French supplementary schools are among the largest in the UK with 320 pupils in the London-based school, and around 300 children registered in the South East and West Midlands schools. The choice of 3 different geographical locations was meant to include a variety of socio-demographic environments in which parents raised multilingual children. London, as the capital, is an exceptionally cosmopolitan area with the highest population reporting speaking a first language other than English (22.1% according to the UK 2011 Census). The geographic distribution of languages in London indicates high concentrations of certain linguistic communities, such as speakers of Yiddish in the borough of Hackney (75% of all self-reported Yiddish speakers in the UK) or speakers of European languages in Kensington and Chelsea (inner London borough) including French (4.9% of the 41,440 borough population as per 2011 UK census), Spanish

(2.7%) and Italian (2.4%). After London, the West Midlands saw the highest percentage of people (7%) who reported speaking a language other than English as their first language. The region has a particularly large Pakistani Punjabi community with 49.5% of speakers living in this area. Finally, the 3rd school involved in this research was located in the county of Buckinghamshire in South East England. This area also has a diverse population with 6% of residents speaking a first language other than English (2011 Census of England and Wales). Asian British constitute the largest ethnic minority in Buckinghamshire comprising 8.6% of the county population compared to 7.8% in England, followed by the Afro-Caribbean community. During the second world war, many Poles, Czechs and Albanians settled in the area and these communities are still present in this region. The diverse demography of Buckinghamshire can also be attributed to its proximity to the capital which has encouraged many Londoners to move to this part of England. All three supplementary schools in this research were located in multicultural and multilingual environments, however, participants residing in London may have been exposed to greater ethnic and linguistic diversity and to a higher concentration of Western Europeans, including other French nationals.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

By reviewing the existing research and examining related concepts, this chapter situates the study within the field of family language policy. First, the very concept of family language policy and its application as a theoretical framework for this research are discussed. Secondly, this segment of the thesis examines the existing literature of FLP and incorporates part of the research on heritage speakers which is relevant to the investigation of childhood bilingualism within the family environment. Finally, the rationale for this study is presented at the end of the chapter.

2.1 FLP as a Theoretical Framework

2.1.1 Defining Family Language Policy

This research examines childhood bilingualism through the lens of family language policy (FLP) as its main theoretical framework. The singularity of the FLP concept is that it has also become an emerging field of research in itself. FLP has been defined as the explicit and implicit planning of language and literacy practices within the home and between family members (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry, 2008). The term *family* in heritage language (HL) research usually refers to the nuclear family but can include grandparents or any other relatives who share a home with the children (Pauwels, 2016). Although the idea of an FLP was only recently defined and formalised through Spolsky's FLP model (2004), similar ideas were proposed in previous literature. In order to fully understand the concept of FLP, it is necessary to look back at its origin and evolution over time. Early research into children's language development, within immigrant or bi-national families, can be traced back to French linguist Grammont (1902). In his book titled *Observation sur le langage des enfants* (*Observations of children's language*), Grammont introduced the idea of 'une personne; une langue' (one person; one language) as an effective way of managing dual language acquisition (the one person-one language (OPOL) concept is further discussed in subsequent sections). A few years later, Grammont's friend and fellow scholar, Ronjat (1913) applied Grammont's advice to his son Louis, whose acquisition of German and French he recorded for over four years. Similarly,

FLP through the OPOL method was researched in Leopold's (1994) diary study of his daughter Hildegard's acquisition of English and German (1939-1949). In the years following Leopold's longitudinal study, there was no other significant research on language development within bilingual families.

It was only in the 1980s that a resurgence of interest in childhood bilingualism led to a continuation of Grammont's OPOL approach, without exploring the actual range of language practices existing within multilingual families (Saunders, 1982; Döpke, 1998; Lanza, 1997). The notion of FLP was first mentioned only in 2003, in Luykx's (2003) research on the language practices of Aymara-Spanish families in Bolivia:

While these efforts [minority language schools] are laudable [. . .], it is the gradual displacement of Aymara by Spanish in functions that have traditionally been the former's stronghold (i.e. the domestic ones) that may prove definitive for the future survival of the language. For this reason, it is necessary to expand our current conception of 'language policy' to include not only the sphere of official state actions, but also decisions made at the community and family level. Such decisions are often implicit and unconscious, but they are no less crucial to determining the speed and direction of language shift. In this regard we may refer to family language policy as an important area for both research and activism (Luykx, 2003:39).

Luykx highlighted the need to research the home domain as a major factor in minority language maintenance and shift (Smith-Christmas, 2016). Spolsky (2004) formalised Luykx's idea through his FLP model. The term language policy has traditionally been used at a macro level to describe political decisions that explicitly or implicitly affect the language practices and status of one or more languages within a society (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry, 2008; Nicoladis and Montanari, 2016). Luykx (2003) and Spolsky (2004) argue that the concept of language policy can be expanded to individual families. Research on language policy deals with language use in public spaces and the influence of policies on language shift. Similarly, but at a micro-level, FLP research is concerned with the language management and beliefs of multilingual families and how they shape language use and acquisition. More specifically, Spolsky defines FLP through three components:

language practices – the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire; its language beliefs or ideology – the beliefs about language and language use; and any specific efforts to modify or influence that practice by any kind of language intervention, planning or management (Spolsky 2004:5).

In other words, Spolsky describes FLP as the deliberate planning and management of language use within the family, according to the language beliefs of its members. The language practice component refers to how families use language in day-to-day interactions, that is the choice of one language in a particular situation as well as translanguaging practices (the notion of translanguaging is further discussed in section 2.2.2 Family Language Practices). The second element of Spolsky's model is parental ideology which simply refers to ideas and beliefs about language and language use. Language ideology has often been investigated to understand the influence of macro-political decisions on parental language beliefs regarding the status of minority and majority languages and the value of bilingual language acquisition (Curd-Christiansen, 2009; 2016; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Baker, 2017). It has also been studied at micro level in terms of parental beliefs regarding language use and raising children bilingually (King & Fogle, 2006; De Houwer, 1999; Pérez Báez, 2013). This study focuses on the latter and investigates parents' beliefs about the nature of bilingualism and raising children within a bilingual home. In this thesis, the terms ideology and belief are used interchangeably. Although Spolsky's FLP model originally dealt with the overt and explicit parental effort to influence the family language use, some researchers have highlighted the need to adjust the concept and include the implicit beliefs that shape parental decisions (Okita, 2002; King and Fogle, 2006; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). For instance, King and Fogle's study (2006) revealed that some parents' decision to raise their children bilingually could be linked to their identity as 'good parents'. Such beliefs might not be openly expressed, and parents might not always be aware of some of the ideologies motivating their daily practices. Parental language ideologies may also relate to a personal sense of identity and to the self-image that they would like to project within their social circle (Baker and Wright, 2017). It is, therefore, essential to incorporate covert language ideologies into the concept of FLP. The notion of language ideology within the FLP framework relates to Haugen's concept of Language Ecology (1972), defined as 'the study of interactions between any given language and its environment'. Although the term *ecology* has received nuanced interpretation, it is generally understood as the cultural, social and political environment of a linguistic group and underlines the importance of context in language use (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013; Crump 2014). The third and last element of FLP is language management, previously referred to, by Piller (2001), as 'language planning'. When more than one language is potentially available to a family, language choices will need to be made (Baker and Wright, 2017). The various

language strategies and techniques employed to influence children's language use and development have been documented amply in the literature (Lanza, 2007) and will be further discussed in this chapter. The parental language management component of FLP has led many scholars to approach language policy as being shaped and implemented exclusively by minority-language parents and to therefore overlook the influence of other actors within the multilingual family.

2.1.2 Questioning Spolsky's FLP Model

The FLP approach, as defined by Spolsky (2004), was a much-needed concept as it brought some structure to the study of language within the informal domain of home and family. However, two main aspects of the FLP model are questionable. The first point of criticism relates to the elite vs. folk bilingual dichotomy discussed in the previous section. The notion of FLP has been criticised for being mostly applicable to prestige minority languages (Piller, 2001). Many studies of FLP have focused on middle class families with a Western European language as the HL (Aronoff, 2017), and in which bilingualism is 'a planned affair' (Grosjean, 1982). Generally, educated parents carefully consider whether and how to raise their children bilingually (Piller, 2001). However, FLP also refers to implicit and unplanned language decisions and ideologies, which arguably exist in every family, regardless of its socio-economic situation. That said, a research project aimed at investigating explicit parental language planning may not be applicable to families with a lower socio-economic status, in which one or both parents may not speak the majority language. For so-called folk bilinguals, language practices do not always result from a conscious decision, and explicit language management may be a luxury concern beyond their priorities. The present research studies a group of well-educated, middle-class individuals whose native language carries a certain cultural and economic prestige in the UK and internationally. Although the FLP model is well-suited for the population studied in this thesis, it is, nonetheless, important to point out that the research questions and methodology may not be relevant or suitable to a non-prestige linguistic community.

Another strong criticism of the concept concerns its rigidity and overly simplistic approach to family interactions. Spolsky's model defines parents as language policy makers and children as the recipients of the FLP. However, recent studies have clearly demonstrated that family language practices are not simply the results of parental beliefs and language management. Children also play a significant

role in shaping the FLP through their language preference and identity choices (Fogle and King, 2013; Gafaranga, 2010). Therefore, in the past few years, researchers in the field have been calling for a more dynamic and nuanced approach to FLP, in which each family member influences code choice. More specifically, the notion of child's agency has recently been receiving particular attention (Fogle and King, 2013; Kopeliovich, 2013; Palviainen and Boyd, 2013). For example, in her study of three adoptive American families Fogle (2012) used the notion of 'bi-directional process-agency' to describe how parents and children equally shape the interaction context. The FLP concept offers a valuable framework to study families' experiences of multilingualism. However, it is necessary to adjust Spolsky's model in order to gain more authentic insight into family policy.

In this research, the concept of FLP is used as an instrument to analyse how families understand and manage multilingualism in the private sphere of their home. Spolsky's 3-component framework (language practices, ideologies and management) serves as a guidance tool into the informal and unstructured environment in which everyday family interactions unfold. That said, this study intends to provide a more integrative approach to the notion of FLP through the analysis of both parental language beliefs and management, and children's responses to parental initiatives and perception of the FLP. Besides, this research also incorporates the perspective of the non-minority-language parent and his/her potential role in shaping the FLP.

In this study, the terms *ideology* and *belief* are used interchangeably to refer to the parents' stance. As Piller (2002) pointed out, the idea of ideology is often interpreted as false belief. However, in the present research, the term *ideology* does not provide any judgement of the truth value of parental beliefs. This first section of the literature review aimed at defining and discussing family language policy as a concept. The second part of this literature review focuses on FLP as a field of research in itself.

2.2 The Underpinning Question in FLP Research: Which FLP Maximises Heritage Language Development?

2.2.1 The concept of Heritage Speaker in FLP Research.

Immigration and the multiculturalism that originates from it has been a topic of discussion and debate among researchers and policy makers for many decades. More particularly, the question of how to help newcomers rapidly learn the majority language and assimilate to the mainstream culture has long been an object of concern

within Western nations (Collins, 2010). On the other hand, the question of how to maintain the native languages and cultures of migrants has often been pushed aside in the name of social cohesion. However, the promotion of bilingualism and the recognition of its cognitive and social benefits, over the past two decades, have turned many researchers' attention to the cultivation of bilingualism through minority language maintenance. More particularly, many psycholinguistic studies have focused on the transmission of heritage languages to second-generation transnational children (Montrul, 2002; 2010; Polinsky, 2016), more commonly referred to as heritage speakers (HSs).

Defining the term *heritage speaker* is a complex task as scholars have used definitions that apply to the specific community in their research, but which cannot be used as an umbrella term (Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinsky, 2013). HSs are generally second-generation transnationals born and raised in the host country and they are defined by their specific sociolinguistic environment: they grow up learning a minority language within the home, while becoming rapidly dominant in the majority language as they get immersed in the mainstream education system (Polinsky, 2016; Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinsky, 2013). While the term *Bilingual First Language Acquisition* (BFLA) is usually employed to describe bilingualism between infancy and pre-school years (4 or 5 years old) (De Houwer, 2009), the phrase *HL maintenance* is reserved for school-age and adult bilinguals, which reflects the inevitable minority-majority language dichotomy.

Scholars have applied both a narrow and a broad definition of the term heritage speaker. The broad approach, originally proposed by Fishman (2001), is based on the affiliation to a culture and defines the HS as having 'familial or ancestral ties to a particular language' (Hornberger and Wang, 2008). In other words, a distant cultural connection to the HL is enough to be described as a HS (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2003) and the HL 'might or might not be a language regularly used in the home and the community' (Fishman, 2001).

The narrower definition, commonly used among linguists, describes the HS as

...an individual who is raised in a home where a non-English language is spoken, who speaks or merely understands the heritage language, and who is to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language. (Valdés, 2000).

Valdés' definition, which involves both some level of skills in and exposure to the HL, applies to the present study since it is concerned with the bilingual language practices and management of transnational families.

The most relevant sociolinguistic particularity of HSs is that the locus of the heritage language is essentially the home. The lack of formal education in the HL means that an overwhelming majority of heritage speakers are not literate in their heritage language (Montrul, 2010; Rothman, 2009; Polinsky, 2016). Another consequence of HLs not being present in schools is that, as children get older and socialise within the mainstream environment, the minority language becomes restricted to a few specific linguistic domains, essentially within the family and the HL community. As a result, HSs often end up possessing the vocabulary related to everyday life and family relationships but they often do not master the linguistic skills to operate within a more formal context (Myers-Scotton, 2005; Fedricks, 2012). Considering that bilingual children are raised in a sociolinguistic environment fundamentally different from their monolingual peers', it can be argued that HLs should be viewed as language varieties in their own right (Fuentes and Schmid, 2015; Pascual y Cabo and Rothman, 2012; Rothman, 2009). Unfortunately, HSs' language acquisition has often been examined in comparison to monolingual speakers in the homeland and as a result, these young bilinguals have been labelled by many psycholinguists as 'Incomplete Learners' and 'Forgetters' (Sharwood Smith, 1989).

Based on the principle of incomplete acquisition (Montrul, 2008), the field of FLP has developed around the underlying question of how to maximise HL development to make it as 'complete' as possible. This concern with HL proficiency has led many researchers to investigate the link between the components of FLP (language practice, ideology and management) and children's levels of proficiency in the minority language (Biedinger, Becker and Klein, 2015; Cohen, 2015). The present study differentiates itself from many previous studies on HSs as it does not focus on the potential factors leading to HL development. Instead, it is concerned with HSs' lived experiences of bilingualism as a benchmark of successful FLP.

2.2.2 Family Language Practices

As mentioned previously, family language policy has become an important area of research over the past ten years. One of the reasons for the recent interest in FLP is that it offers a new perspective on various related fields of study such as bilingual language acquisition – including what type of conditions is necessary for dual language acquisition (King, 2008), language ideologies and heritage language maintenance. The parallel between FLP and Fishman's (1991) well-known work on minority language shift is due to the identification of family as a major factor of

language transmission from one generation to the next. However, it is important to note that the minority language is not simply *transmitted* to second-generation speakers, since the circumstances under which they acquire the HL greatly differ from their parents' (Blackledge and Creese, 2008). Instead, FLP examines a generation of 'new speakers' (Soler and Zabrodskaja, 2017) or 'emergent bilinguals' (García and Kleifgen, 2010) for whom the HL is a language variety in itself, rather than a *duplicate* or continuation of the first-generation's linguistic repertoire.

Like language maintenance studies, FLP focuses on two main contexts: immigrants and autochthonous communities (Pauwels, 2016). Some researchers have made a point to distinguish between OPOL and immigrants as two archetypical contexts in FLP research (Canagarajah, 2008; Smith-Christmas, 2016). As discussed in the previous section, OPOL (one person-one language) is a language management strategy through which each parent speaks to the children exclusively in his or her native language. Most studies on OPOL concern transnational, educated, middle-class families, in which one of the parents may be a native speaker of the majority language. Although the relevance of the language and the socio-economic status (SES) is clearly recognised in this thesis, the categorisation of family contexts into OPOL and immigrant seems incorrect and misleading. The term OPOL refers to a language management technique and should not be used to label a large range of families solely based on their SES. Not all middle-class parents from Western Europe use the OPOL approach and research has clearly demonstrated that translanguage practices are found in most so-called OPOL families (Doyle, 2013). Besides, elite bilinguals in partnership with native speakers from the host country, remain, nonetheless, immigrants faced with the challenge of managing multiple cultural values and language varieties. Needless to mention that in a country as multicultural as the UK, many transnational couples implementing OPOL consist of parents from two different foreign countries, and who are therefore both immigrants.

According to Spolsky (2004), the concept of FLP transposes the focus on minority language maintenance in society to the micro-level environment of family. Tuominen (1999) identifies three factors that influence language transmission within families: family type, language strategies and parental language beliefs. Since family type (either exogamous or endogamous) is not a factor that can be easily shaped, researchers' point of focus has been on more controllable elements such as parental language transmission strategies and ideologies (Schwartz, 2010). As a result, the question underpinning the field of FLP has, for long, been the following: Which language practices and strategies lead bilingual families to achieve their linguistic

goals and which do not? (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013). There is, therefore, a significant amount of literature identifying family language practices and their effect on children's HL proficiency.

When examining bilingual language practices, one of the main concerns, among both psycholinguists and FLP researchers has been to evaluate the amount of HL input received by children and how this might affect their language skills (Biedinger, Becker and Klein, 2015; Cohen, 2015; De Houwer 2009; Schwartz, 2008). It is widely accepted that there is a logical and direct relationship between the amount of language exposure and language development (Unsworth, 2016). Part of De Houwer's (2003, 2007, 2009) key research on childhood bilingualism has focused on what she refers to as 'absolute input frequency' — that is, how often the child hears the language spoken — and its effect on children's acquisition of the minority language. In a large-scale study (families $n=2,250$), De Houwer (2009) concluded that in cases where the minority language was spoken exclusively by one parent, and the majority language by the other, 73% of children had become bilingual. The proportion fell to 34% if the minority-language parent was using both the minority and majority languages at home. Although these seem like compelling results, it is important, in such studies, to define what constitutes bilingualism. If 73% of the children in the study are described as successful bilinguals, it is likely that their language proficiency exists on a spectrum. The definition of successful dual language acquisition is, therefore, mostly subjective. Schwartz and Verschik (2013) recently highlighted the importance of discussing the notion of success in FLP research. Parents and academics' definitions of successful bilingualism are closely linked to language ideologies, as discussed in the subsequent section of this review. De Houwer's study is representative of the long-running and on-going debate on whether a parent should interact with his or her bilingual children in one language only or whether they should engage in translanguaging practices. The term 'translanguaging' is often used as an equivalent for code-mixing, which occurs when a speaker alternates between two or more language varieties in the context of a single conversation and according to grammatical and interactional rules (Li, 2008). However, the notion of translanguaging goes beyond the multilingual speaker's practice in itself and defines language as a multimodal and meaning-making resource in which a speaker deploys his or her 'full linguistic repertoire without regard for watchful adherence to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named (and usually national and state) languages' (Otheguy, García and Reid, 2015:281). In this study, the term translanguaging is employed to refer to a family language practice,

while code-mixing is used to describe language alternation during a particular communicative event.

Based on existing literature, most of today's FLP research is carried out on the premise that maximising the HL input will favour children's bilingual development (Smith-Christmas, 2016; Unsworth, 2013). That said, determining how much exposure would lead to any particular outcome seems like an impossible task. It is possible, however, to analyse factors of variation in language input. A few studies have shown, for instance, that children were more likely to learn the HL if mothers were the minority-language speaking parents (Guardado, 2017; Velázquez, 2014). Since mothers generally remain the primary caregivers, children are more likely to receive higher exposure to the language spoken by their mother. HL input is also higher if a member of the extended family, such as a grandparent, or if a HL speaking childminder, shares a home with the child (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Pauwels, 2016; Silva-Corvalán, 2014). The presence of siblings plays another important part in the quantity of HL exposure. First-born children seem to receive more input in the minority language as they experience more one-to-one interactions with their parents than their younger siblings, and they may therefore reach a higher level of HL proficiency (Ellis and Johnson, 2002). Younger siblings' interactions with older children in the family tend to be conducted in the majority language, thus reducing their exposure to the HL (Bridges and Hoff, 2014; Dumanig, David and Shanmuganathan, 2013; Frese and Ward, 2015).

While Identifying the factors contributing to a higher HL exposure and proficiency has its theoretical significance, research findings do not necessarily translate into daily family language practices. Although research indicates that favouring family interactions in the minority language leads to better HL skills in children (Smith-Christmas, 2016; Takeuchi, 2008), it also demonstrates that both the minority and majority languages are commonly used by immigrant parents (Frese and Ward, 2015; Schwartz, 2008). The New Irish Families Project (Frese and Ward, 2015), investigating the successes and challenges of HL acquisition among second generation immigrant children, concluded that English was used within families where both parents were immigrants. Besides, in mixed relationships with one Irish parent, English was almost exclusively spoken to the children.

A few researchers have focused on quality, rather than quantity of input. The notion of quality of input has different meanings in the literature. Saunders (1982), Dopke (1998) and Takeuchi's (2008) early research on the importance of input quality refers to child-centred interactions in which children actively engage in communication. As

for Unsworth (2016: 5), she describes ‘native input’ as higher quality input than non-native, as it provides a broader lexical repertoire and a higher degree of grammatical complexity. The various studies on the language practices of bilingual families, reviewed in this section, have focused on identifying the language use patterns conducive to bilingual language development. Unsurprisingly, significant efforts in FLP research were directed at examining possible ways to manage these family language practices in order to achieve the desired linguistic outcome.

2.2.3 Language Management

As Baker (2014) puts it, in monolingual countries, whenever more than one language exists within a family, the question of which languages to speak arises. The various existing strategies or methods used by parents to influence language use within the family are what Spolsky (2004) refers to as ‘language management’. However, this does not imply that FLP is necessarily a consciously planned decision. Through her discourse analysis of bilingual Singaporean Chinese families, Curdt-Christiansen (2013) described a variety of FLPs from highly controlled to unintended. She recognises three main types of parental language strategies: ‘highly organised with regular monitoring of the child’s bilingual development, unreflective parental adaptation and total laissez-faire, permitting the two-code practice in mother-child interactions.’ Curdt-Christiansen’s findings come back to Lanza’s (2007) original categorisation of parental discourse strategies. In her study on American Norwegian families (2007), Lanza identifies five policies: ‘minimal grasp’ -the adult states that she/he does not understand the child’s language choice, ‘expressed guess strategy’ - the adult asks a question in the other language, ‘adult repetition’ -the adult translates and repeats the child’s utterance in the other language, ‘move-on strategy’ -the adult does not intervene and lets the conversation take its course, and ‘adult code-switching’ -the adult uses both languages. As demonstrated by Lanza and Curdt-Christiansen’s studies, parental language management exists on a continuum based on the level of tolerance towards translanguaging. Lanza (2004) proposes that the ‘minimal grasp strategy’ is the most effective to promote children’s acquisition of the minority language. No mention is made, however, of how such a strategy could be sustained as children rapidly realise that the adult *does speak* the majority language. Many other scholars (Arriagada, 2005; Dopke, 1992; Gafaranga, 2010; Takeuchi, 2008; Yates and Terraschke, 2013) have also concluded that a low tolerance to translanguaging is a necessary condition to successfully raise bilingual children. In

other words, parents should create a monolingual environment in order to produce bilingualism (Gafaranga, 2010). Such a position reflects a monoglossic approach to bilingualism as ‘parallel monolingualism’ (Baker, 2003) in which the children would function as ‘two monolingual persons in one’ (Grosjean, 1989). Monoglossic ideologies of language have long dominated the field of linguistics and have led to the study of bilingualism as two whole and separate autonomous linguistic systems (García, 2009). This approach to bilingualism and the language separation strategies associated with it are in contradiction with the more contemporary idea of heteroglossia. The heteroglossic theory of language defines bilingualism as the simultaneous use of various forms and signs ‘without diglossic functional separation’ (García, 2007). It views the bilingual speaker’s language varieties as constantly interweaving and combining in an infinite number of ways of communicating depending on the speaker’s position (Bailey, 2007). Whilst the idea of heteroglossia has a strong presence in academia, a long legacy of monoglossic beliefs have led many parents and scholars to endorse language separation as the most appropriate language strategy in the home. Considering the significant amount of research supporting consistency of language choice in parent-child interactions, the one person-one language method has received significant attention from researchers.

2.2.4 OPOL: The Holy Grail of Language Planning

The one person-one language (OPOL) method was originally proposed by Grammont (1902) and involves enforcing strict boundaries in terms of the suitability of each language in a particular situation (Lanza, 1997). This language management technique requires a high level of parental planning and awareness of the desired linguistic outcomes and is, therefore, more commonly employed by educated, middle-class parents (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013). The underlying idea behind OPOL is that language separation will ‘enhance bilingual acquisition, whereas a mixed context will hinder acquisition and induce confusion and interference’ (Hamers and Blanc, 2000). Many studies in the 1980s and 1990s concluded that OPOL could establish active competence in both languages (Baker, 2001; Dopke, 1992; Döpke, 1998; Hulk and Van der Linden, 1996; Meisel, 1990; Paradis and Genesee, 1996; Romaine, 1995). Most of this research focused on infants and children below the age of 5, and who seemed to be acquiring two languages in a balanced way (Kasuya, 1998; Genesee and Nicoladis, 1995). However, there is little data on the language development of bilingual school-age children whose exposure

to the home language often greatly decreases after their entry into formal schooling (generally between age 4 and 5) (Montrul, 2010; Rothman, 2009). Some of the most recent literature dealing with school-age children comprises Suzanne Barron-Hauwaert's (2004) book dedicated to OPOL as 'the almost mythological approach' (2004: 9) to bilingual child-rearing. The book draws mainly on two of the author's research projects: a questionnaire study of 93 bilingual families following the OPOL method, and a study of 10 trilingual families. Barron-Hauwaert proposes a set of ten research questions, all related to the factors leading to a successful OPOL strategy, including: 'Should the family follow a strict OPOL strategy or mix languages when talking to the child?' and 'What kind of resources and language teaching should parents do to ensure a balanced input and active use of both languages?' Although none of these questions involves measuring the children's proficiency level in the minority language or establishing any clear correlation between OPOL and language competence, the author promotes the efficiency of the method throughout the book. Besides, despite producing a book exclusively dedicated to OPOL, Barron-Hauwaert's research questions do not allude to the children's perspective or influence on the method in question. On the contrary, her approach to language management positions children as mere recipients of the parental policy while parents implement language enforcement or 'policing' in the home (p.34). As Barron-Hauwaert explains, OPOL is often practiced by transnational families from Western Europe, and therefore, not typically surrounded by a linguistic community. Therefore, the author suggests maximizing HL exposure through hiring HL-speaking nannies or au pairs and by travelling frequently to visit the extended family. This advice is clearly directed at individuals who can afford such actions through private means and might contribute to deepening the divide between so-called elite and folk bilingualism, while other scholars are calling for more Government measures supporting bilingualism among all linguistic communities (Piller, 2005; García and Kleifgen, 2010). Barron-Hauwaert's OPOL study (2004) is one of many recent books on the topic of raising bilingual children (Baker, 2014; Braun, 2014; Festman, Poarch and Dewaele, 2017). These publications are a combination of academic literature and parental guidance, and respond to a growing demand for professional advice, among transnational families (Soler and Zabrodska, 2017). The issue with many parental guidebooks is that they entail a high level of generalisation which may not suit the unique characteristics of every multilingual family. Besides, they generally overlook the perspective and experiences of children. The present research attempts to provide

a more nuanced account of the experiences of multilingual families and the effect of FLPs on both parents and children.

Other researchers have focused on the variability of results among families using the OPOL method. In Takeuchi's (2008) study of 25 Japanese-English bilingual families in Australia, only five reported continued use of Japanese by the children, despite using OPOL. The researcher concluded that OPOL was an efficient policy providing strong parental determination and strict consistency in language use. Similarly, Yates and Terraschke (2013) and Smith-Christmas (2016) pointed out that the effectiveness of OPOL was related to the HL parent's effort to consistently and exclusively use the minority language. While these studies provide meaningful sociolinguistic insights, there is still no strong psycholinguistic evidence of the effect of OPOL on children's language development (Hamers and Blanc, 2000). De Houwer's (2009) research in Flanders presents some of the most significant data on the relationship between language consistency and children's bilingual development. Her findings show that a 'one parent-two languages' method produced 79% of active bilinguals as opposed to 73% for OPOL ($n = 1,450$), and 59% in families using a mixture of the two methods. These results suggest that the OPOL strategy does not always produce better results than a flexible approach and that a quarter of children do not become active bilinguals through the one parent-one language policy.

In the above-mentioned studies (Takeuchi, 2008; Yates and Terraschke, 2013; Smith-Christmas, 2016), mothers bear the responsibility of transmitting the minority language, with little or no support from the wider society. This aspect of OPOL has attracted some researchers' interest (Okita, 2002; De Houwer, 2013) and criticism (Hamers and Blanc, 2000; Piller, 2001). Okita's (2002) notable work on Japanese-English intermarried couples in the UK gives an authentic insight into the difficult and 'invisible work' of mothers trying to raise their children bilingually. The author highlights that the pressure experienced by mothers to ensure that their children reach certain language expectations is closely intertwined with the notion of good parenting. An approach as rigorous as OPOL, on top of the already demanding responsibility of parenting, can make mothers' workload incredibly heavy and stressful (Yates and Terraschke, 2013). Other researchers pointed at parents' sense of failure and anxiety that can coincide with high expectations of HL proficiency and a taxing language management method (King and Fogle, 2006). The emotional aspect of FLP will be further discussed in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

Many studies have shown that language consistency within bilingual homes is actually difficult to attain (Hamers and Blanc, 2000; Schwartz, 2008; Doyle, 2013;

Smith-Christmas, 2016; De Houwer and Bornstein, 2016). Moin et al.'s (2013) study of Finnish-Russian mixed families demonstrated that even parents who are committed to OPOL and disapprove of translanguaging sometimes use the 'wrong' language. It is because there seems to generally be some 'leakage' (De Houwer and Bornstein, 2016:11) even in the most committed one person-one language families, that the strategy has sometimes been described as unrealistic and atypical of bilingual interactions (Piller, 2001). FLPs involving consistency in language use demand that parents 'stick to their guns' (Smith-Christmas, 2016), which does not allow any room for adjustment to the flexible nature of bilingualism (García and Li, 2014). Aside from criticism of the OPOL method itself, it appears that families practicing OPOL generally provide an ideal environment to study FLP. As mentioned before, the families concerned often speak elite languages, which makes the issue of the minority language status in society less relevant (Kirsch, 2012). Besides, OPOL practicing families are often geographically dispersed and the influence of community is, therefore, not as significant as in other linguistic groups (Döpke, 1998; Smith-Christmas, 2016). This provides researchers with a good basis to study multilingualism within the micro-environment of the nuclear family.

2.2.5 Translanguaging as a Family Language Practice

If the OPOL method has received much attention among academics, few studies have looked at families who have consciously adopted a more flexible approach to bilingualism. As Soler and Zabrodska (2017) pointed out, most of the available literature on translanguaging draws on classroom interactions (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; García and Li, 2014; Hornberger and Link, 2012). This might suggest that translanguaging is not perceived as a legitimate family language practice in itself but rather as a simple lack of parental discipline. Interestingly, evidence of translanguaging practices at home occurs even within families who claim to follow a language separation approach but do not always succeed in doing so (Schwartz, 2008; Doyle, 2013; Smith-Christmas, 2016). However, Schwartz and Verschik's (2013) recent volume emphasises the importance of parental flexibility as a condition for successful FLP. For instance, Doyle (2013) studied 11 intermarried families in Estonia and found that, although most parents declared observing the OPOL method, their relaxed attitude towards actual language use at home contributed to raising active bilingual teenagers. Palviainen and Boyd (2013) showed that parental language choice was often flexible 'depending on sociolinguistic, situational and interpersonal

factors in unique moments of interaction'. In an ethnographic study of three Spanish Estonian families, Soler and Zabrodskaia (2017) described how parents used OPOL to rationalise their complex linguistic environment and to create coherence and order in their family interactions. However, the two researchers also demonstrated that actual language practices involved a considerable amount of code-mixing and called for a more positive attitude towards translanguaging among parents and within the academic community. The parental language strategies employed to influence children's language use are shaped by particular beliefs about bilingualism and the value of the heritage language. Parental ideologies, as the third component of FLP, have generated significant interest among scholars.

2.3 Parental Ideologies

2.3.1 Parental Perception of Multilingualism and the Heritage Language Value.

Until recently, most of the research on FLP has focused on parental approaches to bilingual childrearing. A considerable number of studies have explored first-generation transnationals' perception of the value and social utility of multilingualism and the minority language in a given society (Brown, 2011; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Fedricks, 2012; Lee and Suarez, 2005; Frese, A. and Ward, 2015; Martin, 2009; Nesteruk, 2010; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Many of them have confirmed that first-generation immigrant parents, across various ethnolinguistic communities, are overwhelmingly in favour of transmitting their native language to their offspring (Ferguson, 2013; Pauwels, 2016). Different linguistic groups appear to share similar motivations to maintain the HL alive within the family. Among the reasons cited by parents, the transmission of a cultural and ethnic identity is a recurrent theme. Curdt-Christiansen's (2009) ethnographic study of ten Chinese families in Quebec explores the beliefs that shape their FLP. The transmission of Mandarin as a marker of their Asian identity was the most significant reason given by parents. Ferguson (2013)'s qualitative analysis of a Yemeni community in the UK revealed that maintaining Arabic in the second generation was a mean to transmit not only a culture but a religious heritage too. In other words, many transnational parents believe that the minority language is an essential element of their identity and that it must be shared with their children (Brown, 2011). Another

important factor contributing to parents' positive ideology is the desire to keep and develop the bond between the children and their extended family in the homeland (Nesteruk, 2010). Grandparents seem to be a special source of encouragement for HL maintenance, especially when they do not master the host country language (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015). Parents may also view the minority language as providing their children with an intellectual and professional advantage because it allows them to draw from a wider historical, philosophical or literary heritage (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Nesteruk, 2010). This idea was well summarised by Krashen (1998):

HL development allows the HL learner to profit from their [family's and HL community's] wisdom and knowledge, promote a healthy sense of multiculturalism, an acceptance not only of both the majority and heritage culture, but a deeper understanding of the human condition.

While many scholars reported positive parental ideologies towards HL maintenance, a few studies have pointed out that many parents have an ambivalent approach to the minority language. While they may value the HL, immigrant parents are often aware that having a good command of the host country language is a pre-requisite for social and economic success (Brown, 2011; Krashen, 1998; Suarez, 2002). For this reason, the majority language may carry more value than the minority language in some families, which might contribute to the loss of the HL among second-generation transnationals (Brown, 2011).

Since the family is not a closed entity, another area of FLP research has looked at the influence of societal ideologies on parental language beliefs (Canagarajah, 2008; King, Fogle and Logan-Terry, 2008). Many studies have focused on the mechanism through which mainstream ideologies about the political, social and economic value of the minority language shape parental language decisions and, in turn, family language practices (Maguire and Curdt-Christiansen, 2007). The external influences on parental language beliefs, as well as the link between parental ideologies and children's HL proficiency, fall beyond the scope of the present study.

2.3.2 Parental Beliefs about Heritage Language Development and Bilingualism

Another aspect of parental language ideology concerns beliefs about how the HL is acquired and what constitutes bilingualism. In cases where family language planning is deliberate, parents often have certain ideas on how children develop bilingualism,

which in turn, may influence their language strategies at home (see section 2.2.3 on parental language management). It has been argued that explicit family language planning, therefore, is to be found essentially among educated, middle-class transnationals (Piller, 2001). However, childhood bilingualism has been strongly promoted over the past decade and bilingual childrearing has become part of mainstream parenting as a result. Many parents, other than those described by Piller as ‘elite bilinguals’ -namely ‘middle-class international couples, expatriates, academics who raise their children in a non-native language, etc.’, chose to raise their offspring bilingually in order to provide them with certain social and cognitive advantages (King and Fogle, 2016). Despite the recent enthusiasm for bilingual childrearing among parents, few studies have explored their beliefs about dual language acquisition and the ideological justifications for selecting one language management method over another. Piller (2002) explored the linguistic practices and management of English-German bilingual couples and three main ideas emerged from her qualitative interviews. First, all her participants believed in the importance of age in language learning. Many couples in her study assumed that languages were best introduced early so that children could acquire them ‘unconsciously’. Piller’s Participants also supported the idea that the acquisition of two languages simultaneously required consistent language choices from the parents and that they should, therefore, carefully separate each language variety in their interactions with their children (Heller, 2000; Hamers and Blanc, 2000). Based on this belief, there was a strong assumption among Piller’s participants that translanguaging was a detrimental practice. The last theme that emerged from Piller’s study was that of balanced bilingualism as a measure of successful FLP since many parents expected or hoped that their children would achieve ‘native-like’ proficiency in each language, as a result of parental language management (see similar results in Okita, 2002; King and Fogle, 2006). Few other authors have discussed the meaning of successful bilingualism which shapes many parents’ language expectations. However, Schwartz and Verschik (2013) recently highlighted the rarity of balanced bilingualism and raised the question of how successful FLP should be defined. The authors suggest that standards based on a more heteroglossic approach to bilingualism might be a more appropriate benchmark of success. Purkarthofer (2017) took a similar approach to Piller’s (2001) by analysing the language expectations of three multicultural couples expecting their first child. Through a multimodal narrative method combining interviews, language portraits (to be discussed in section 2.6) and LEGO® building blocks, participants were asked to envision spaces of interaction as a family.

Their responses revealed language ideologies that strongly differed from those expressed in Piller's (2001) research. The future parents in Purkardhofer (Ibid) described their FLP as an object of negotiation between all family members including children. All participants portrayed their offspring as free to make their own language choices and they accepted the possibility that their child might express her/himself in a variety other than the parents' preferred languages.

This heteroglossic approach is at odds with the ideal of language separation and consistency embraced by the participants in Piller's study (2001). Instead, the approach to bilingualism as heteroglossia goes hand in hand with the acceptance of translanguaging as a legitimate bilingual practice. While Purkardhofer's research (2017) provides original insights into future parents' language beliefs and their imaginary FLP, concrete data is necessary to understand what actual parents believe and how such beliefs shape FLPs as children start socialising through the majority language. The present research aims to contribute to our understanding of the parental ideologies that shape family language management strategies and expectations.

2.3.3 Discrepancies Between Language Beliefs and Practices

While many parents emphasise the importance of maintaining the HL within the family, research has revealed a gap between parents' ideologies and their actual language practices at home (Brown, 2011; Frese and Ward, 2015; Schwartz, 2008). As a result, some scholars have focused on analysing the discrepancies between parental beliefs and family language practices. Schwartz's quantitative study (2008) of 70 Russian families in Israel showed a significant mismatch between the ideologies formulated by parents and their actual language choices at home (see also Spolsky 2004). Whilst most participants claimed that using the minority language was paramount for HL maintenance, many spoke the majority language during interactions with their children. This often happens unconsciously as parents are faced with the time and energy-consuming reality of the HL maintenance process (Okita, 2002; Pauwels, 2016). More recently, Curdt-Christiansen (2016) examined the conflicting language ideologies of Singaporean families. Qualitative interviews revealed that caregivers in the same families (including the extended family) may have different beliefs about which language should be spoken to the children. Thus, some of the participants favoured bilingual interactions including English and mandarin, whereas others believed in establishing a monolingual Chinese

environment in the home. Through the use of language audits, Curdt-Christiansen also demonstrated the existence of incongruent language ideologies and practices. For instance, the author described how a Malay-speaking mother spoke English almost exclusively to her children while declaring that speaking her native language at home was highly important. These discrepancies between beliefs and practices can lead to contradictions between practices and expectations. Although some of the parents in Curdt-Christiansen's research rarely spoke the minority language at home, they still expected their young ones to be highly proficient in both languages. Soler and Zabrodska (2017) also noted significant FLP discrepancies within three Spanish-Estonian bilingual families. All parents in the study declared applying the one parent-one language (OPOL) strategy as strictly as possible, in order to provide their children with the best linguistic model, in other words, input from a native speaker. However, during their interviews, the participants also reported that they frequently engaged in translanguaging with their children. The two researchers attribute the gap between beliefs and practices to the idealisation, in popular research literature and parental guides, of language separation through methods such as the OPOL.

The recent studies pointing at the incongruencies between parental language ideologies and practices reveal the complex and covert factors that govern parents' choices of given language strategies. More studies comparing language beliefs and family language practices are necessary in order to understand how FLPs are shaped. More particularly, highlighting discrepancies within FLPs would allow parents to adjust their expectations of their children's HL proficiency according to their actual language practices at home. The current research uses mixed methods in order to both identify trends and inconsistencies in parental beliefs and practices and gain an in-depth understanding of the explicit and implicit motivations for adopting certain language policies.

2.3.4 Family Language Policy and Parenting Ideologies

Parents' motivations and ideologies regarding HL transmission are closely linked to their beliefs about their parenting role, and in Okita's words, language use in transnational families is 'deeply intertwined with the experience of childrearing' (2002:232). Okita describes how the promotion of bilingualism in society has created pressure on minority-language mothers to include HL development as a requirement of 'proper childrearing'. Already in 1993, Baker was pointing out that literature on

bilingual childrearing encouraged the use of the minority language as being ‘in the best interest of the child’ (Baker, 1993). The relationship between language and parenting beliefs was thoroughly explored by King and Fogle (2006) who demonstrated that parents’ language decisions were closely intertwined with the notions of ‘good’ or ‘bad’ parenting, which are themselves shaped by culture and societal discourse. Participants in their study often justified their chosen approach to language management and their efforts to develop the HL as being a trait of good parenting. King and Fogle concluded that, for some parents, ideologies of bilingualism were a reflection of a wider approach to parenting as ‘cultivation of children’s talents and skills’ (2006: 707).

The link between parental language beliefs and the notion of good parenting also introduces the question of parents’ sense of responsibility for developing their children’s bilingualism. De Houwer (1999: 83) proposes the concept of ‘impact belief’ which she defines as ‘... the parental belief that parents can exercise some sort of control over their children’s linguistic functioning’. Parents with a strong impact belief feel capable of influencing their young ones’ language development through their language practice. They may consequently decide to control their child’s language use or sanction certain linguistic practices. Curdt-Christiansen (2009) identified strong parental impact beliefs among Chinese parents in Quebec. Participants in her study believed that they could create a favourable environment for their children’s dual language development. On the contrary, Pérez Báez (2013) found that Zapotec speakers in California had a weak impact belief and as a result, they did not engage in language strategies directed at shaping their children’s language use. According to the author, a weak impact belief strengthens family-external influences such as school, and eventually leads to language shift. However, although Pérez Báez’s conclusion seems logical, and while a few studies propose that a strong parental impact belief is conducive to HL maintenance (Fedricks, 2012; Kung, 2013), it would be impossible to isolate this particular factor in order to gauge the real effect of impact belief on children’s HL development.

2.3.5 Parental ideologies and the choice of HL education

Another point of interest in FLP research concerns the link between parents’ language ideologies and their choice of HL education. One of the considerations of transnational families may be whether the children should attend a bilingual or a monolingual school. Baker (2001) distinguished two types of education for

transnational children: a weak form in which pupils are taught in their heritage language until they are proficient in the majority language, and a strong form which consists of teaching pupils throughout the curriculum in both languages. Whilst Baker's distinction is relevant for the education system in the United-States, schools in the UK do not normally offer any minority language lessons and children are immersed in an English-only environment upon their entry into pre-school (at 3 years old). In this case, the choice of transnational families is reduced to either a monolingual mainstream education or an independent bilingual school. Schwartz et al. (2013) compared the ideologies of two groups of Russian Hebrew-speaking parents in Israel who chose monolingual versus bilingual early-education (kindergartens) for their children. Statistical analysis of the 97 families revealed that parents' level of identification with Russian culture was a significant factor in the choice of a monolingual or bilingual pre-school. Participants with a strong attachment to their country of origin viewed bilingual education as a means to transmit their culture to the next generation. Parents' preference for a bilingual kindergarten was also motivated by the perceived quality of education including teachers' competence and methods, as well as the opportunity for language development. Parents in the monolingual education group attributed their choice of early education to more practical elements such as accessibility and affordability. Finally, Schwartz's findings suggested that pre-schoolers who attended a bilingual kindergarten were more likely to speak the HL at home, which further reinforced their exposure to the minority language. This study underlines the important role of parental beliefs, including extra-linguistic motivations, in shaping children's bilingual and life experiences. Unfortunately, the purely quantitative nature of Schwartz's research means that FLP was analysed solely based on parents' reported language practices and ideologies. As discussed previously in this chapter, discrepancies between beliefs and practices, as well as between reported and actual language use, must be taken into account when investigating FLP.

If bilingual and international schools are available in most countries, they are few and remain a costly option. Therefore, second-generation transnational children often attend mainstream monolingual education. In order to increase their offspring's exposure to the HL, as well as develop their HL literacy skills, parents often turn to supplementary schools, also referred to as complementary or weekend schools. Creese and Blackledge (2010) argue that 'complementary schools exist in relation to, in response to, and perhaps even in spite of, a strongly felt public discourse of monolingualism and homogeneity'. The authors' extensive research among

supplementary schools across four linguistic communities in the UK revealed that a majority of supplementary school teachers and parents shared common beliefs and language management strategies shaped around the idea of separate bilingualism. This monoglossic approach to bilingualism among parents and teachers promotes the exclusive use of the minority language in the home and at the supplementary school. That said, the authors also emphasise the fact that such beliefs are not often strictly applied in practice as both pupils and supplementary school teachers engage in translanguaging, reflecting the inescapably flexible nature of bilingualism (García, 2009).

The focus on parental beliefs in the field of FLP has often been motivated by the traditional concern with children's HL proficiency (Brown, 2011; Lee and Suarez, 2005; Pérez Báez, 2013). In contrast, it is only recently that the effects of these ideologies on the family's dynamic and its interrelationships have received some attention in FLP research.

2.4. FLP & Transnational Experiences

2.4.1 Investigating the Diversity of Transnational Experiences

In order to better appreciate multilingual families' experiences, it is necessary to discuss the terminology used to describe such families. While earlier studies in the field of language maintenance have traditionally used the phrase *first* or *second-generation immigrants* (Hulsen, De Bot and Weltens, 2002; Lee and Suarez, 2005), many recent FLP studies have adopted the term *transnational* in order to reflect the cultural attachments preserved by families across borders, time and generations (Duff, 2015; Hirsch and Lee, 2018; King, 2016; Zhu and Li, 2016). This change in terminology reflects today's high levels of mobility and the global connections people are able to maintain through digital technologies (Duff, 2015). The concept of *transnationalism* is in line with Blommaert's (2010) call for a new approach to linguistic communication in the age of globalisation. The author highlights that

Human language (...) [is] no longer tied to stable and resident communities, it moves across the globe, and it changes in the process. The world has become a complex 'web' of villages, towns, neighbourhoods and settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways (2010: 1).

Blommaert's polycentric approach recognises that people's current high mobility and transnational connections are no longer comparable with the experiences of former generations of immigrants whose move would mark a clear and more permanent delineation between their homeland and the host country (Hirsch and Lee, 2018). Moreover, some researchers argue that the term *transnational* allows for the representation of a wide range of migrants' experiences including long and short-term sojourners, international students and transcultural families issued from immigration or intermarriage (King, 2016; Lanza and Li, 2016). Transnationals can be described as 'migrants' [with] durable ties across countries' and who live in transnational spaces, characterised by 'relatively stable, lasting and dense sets of ties reaching beyond and across borders of sovereign states' (Bauböck and Faist, 2010). The notion of transnationalism is well-suited for the current study. This research focuses on intermarried French-English families who have long-term plans to live in the UK while maintaining important, physical and digital contacts with family members in the HL country.

The most recent change of focus in the field of FLP has been towards the study of family as a dynamic system (King, 2016). This is a clear departure from the original concern with establishing a link between family language practices and ideologies and children's linguistic outcomes, towards an attempt to 'understand what is *going on* within [transnational] families' (Zhu and Li, 2016). This section of the literature review includes recent studies reflecting this new direction in FLP and HL research. Many scholars have been calling for a more fluid approach to FLP, highlighting the diversity of multilingual experiences among and within families (Zhu and Li, 2016; Hirsch and Lee, 2018). A focus on individual experience contrasts with earlier studies analysing the overall language shift and maintenance phenomena among given sociolinguistic communities (Lanza, 2007; Rumbaut, Massey and Bean, 2002). The recent effort to contextualise multilingual families' experiences and to investigate diverse family settings is appreciable in Macalister and Mirvahedi's (2017) edited volume of nine case studies. This collection highlights the unique circumstances of transnational families and how they affect the dynamics of FLP. The families described include, among others, sign language users in New Zealand (McKee and Smiler, 2017), child-headed households in rural Uganda (Kendrick and Namazzi, 2017) and Colombian refugees in New Zealand (Navarro, 2017). Similarly, language management within transnational adoptive families has also recently received some attention (Fogle and King, 2013).

The current focus on how families make sense of their transnationalism and multilingualism is well reflected in Zhu and Li's (2016) ethnographic study of three families from China living in Britain. The two researchers' case studies demonstrate the diversity of experiences among Chinese transnationals despite the fact that they all originated from the same homeland. The first case describes a Korean family from China, who are essentially concerned with their present situation and the necessity for the children to rapidly learn English while maintaining Korean to communicate with their grandparents. Therefore, the use of Mandarin Chinese has been put aside as it is less relevant for the family at that particular point in time. For the second family, including second and third generations of Chinese immigrants, the emphasis is placed on future goals. English is widely used among parents and children given that they were all born in Britain. Although they grew up speaking Cantonese, the parents decided that their children should attend a Mandarin supplementary school as this variety of Chinese might offer them better professional opportunities. The third case consists of three generations of Chinese transnationals with a focus on the grandparents, a retired couple who moved to Britain after their granddaughter was born. After a few years in Britain, both grandparents feel uneasy and concerned about having lost some of their Mandarin Chinese. Their concern is to preserve their cultural heritage and connection to their homeland. Through this study, Zhu and Li highlight the importance of families', but also individuals' 'sense of belonging and imagination' (2016: 657) and how it shapes transnationals' experiences and their FLPs. In other words, individuals' transnational experiences are defined by the interplay between the memory of past cultural affiliations and the imagination of and aspirations for a future in a new home country. Hirsch and Lee (2018) have also proposed expanding the concept of FLP in order to reflect the diversity of transnational families' experiences. They examine families' language decision-making with a 'focus on different kinds of moves and movers'. The authors propose that transnationals' original intended duration of stay in the host country and any potential plan to return to the homeland, influence the family's language policy. In other words, FLP will vary depending on the intended 'permanency' or 'impermanency' of the family's experience in the host country. The temporal aspect put forward by Hirsch and Lee is an essential element of the transnational family's context and seems to strongly influence FLP ideologies and management decisions. Transnational families might turn their attention towards the past and the preservation of their ties to the heritage language and culture (Zhu and Li, 2016), or they might

invest their efforts in developing a new linguistic and cultural identity should they perceive their move as long-term or permanent (Norton Peirce, 2013).

The multidimensional aspect of FLP implies a diversity of experiences not only between families but among individuals within the same family unit. Smith-Christmas's (2016) longitudinal ethnography of a Scottish family offers a diachronic perspective on FLP. She describes a variety of approaches towards the maintenance of Gaelic within the three-generation household. While the paternal grandmother adopts a 'stand your ground' approach to the exclusive use of Gaelic, her grandchildren consistently engage in dual-lingual (Saville-Troike, 1987) interactions in which they use English while being spoken to in Gaelic.

The shift in FLP and transnational research towards a focus on personal experience also involves studying how individuals position themselves in relation to external language policies and the socio-political environment (Song, 2010; King and De Fina, 2010). Curdt-Christiansen's (2016) study of the relation between government language policy in Singapore and parental language ideologies clearly suggests that caregivers' beliefs towards a given language vary, even within the same family. It is therefore essential to conduct a more nuanced analysis of how individuals position themselves in relation to external language policies (Block, 2007; King and De Fina, 2010), rather than solely focusing on overall linguistic community patterns as has traditionally been the case in the field of language shift and maintenance (Gollan, Starr and Ferreira, 2015; Hulsen, De Bot and Weltens, 2002). The necessity to study FLP from an individual perspective is all the more compelling owing to the apparent and essential link between the socio-cultural identification processes within transnational families and their language practices (Li, 2013).

2.4.2 FLP, Language & Identity

The link between language and identity has aroused the interest of some academics since the 1970s (Lambert, 1975; Norton Peirce, 1995). Until recently, a large number of studies on language and identity have focused on second language acquisition, and more particularly, on learners of English as a second language. The relationship between language learning and identity construction has been explored in the classroom setting (Canagarajah, 1993), and among first-generation migrants (Block, 2009; Norton Peirce, 2013). Norton Peirce's foundational work on language and identity is based on the principle that language constructs one's sense of self and that

identity is versatile and ever-changing (Darvin and Norton Peirce, 2015). She defines identity as

How a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future (Norton Peirce, 2013: 45).

Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' (Bourdieu, 1977; 1991), Norton Peirce (2013) proposes the notion of 'investment' according to which individual agency and identity determine whether a person invests in learning a given language. Certain language learners 'invest' their effort into learning a language with a view to 'mov[e] toward' the identity that they envisioned and its associated imagined community. While Norton Peirce's notion of investment and imagined communities has been essentially applied to the field of second language acquisition, these concepts have recently surfaced in studies concerned with identity construction and expression among first, second and third-generation transnationals (Blackledge and Creese, 2008; Duff, 2015; Little, 2017; Mu, 2014; Mu and Dooley, 2015). For instance, Li and Zhu (2013) explored the cultural identities and ideologies of a group of second-generation Chinese university students in Britain. Observation and interview data revealed the complexity and unique aspect of each of these five young adults' identity choices. As 'transnationally affiliated individuals' (Hornberger, 2007) they were uncomfortable with describing themselves in well-defined linguistic or cultural categories. Instead, each young man viewed himself as a unique combination of cultural influences reflecting his personal history. Besides, two of the participants pointed out that the way they identified themselves also varied according to context. One of them explained that although he identified as Chinese around non-Chinese individuals due to their perception, he did not feel 'Chinese Chinese (...) from China'. The students in Li and Zhu's study defined themselves through a mix of their respective transnational experiences in Britain, Singapore, New Zealand and China. Despite being exposed to various ideologies within society and within their families, these multicultural young men had constructed unique transnational identities through which they embraced their ethnic and linguistic heritage while welcoming their transnational experiences. Li and Zhu's findings also show how such transnational identities are expressed and created through translanguaging, which they define as a 'variety of identity articulations and negotiations within newly created social spaces' (p.532). Similarly, Blackledge and Creese's (2008; 2010) research in various supplementary schools in the UK showed how heritage speakers negotiated their identities through flexible linguistic practices. This idea is paramount

when investigating the link between cultural identities and bilingual practices within transnational families. Blommaert and Rampton (2011) also emphasised the importance of connecting translanguaging practices to their concept of ‘sociolinguistics of mobility’ which focuses on ‘language-in-motion’ (p.5). According to the authors, language should be approached as the interaction of multiple linguistic patterns formed through various periods of time and locations. Therefore, the transnational individual’s language practices reflect the wide range of resources that make up his or her linguistic repertoire (Busch, 2012; García, 2009; Li and Zhu, 2013; Otheguy, García and Reid, 2015).

Multilingual family members use their linguistic resources as a way to define themselves culturally and in relation to other family members (King, 2016). Since the impact of cultural identity on one’s language choices is, in essence, unique to every individual, there is likely to be a variety of approaches to language within the same transnational family (Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Czubinska, 2017). Minority-language parents may gear their language management towards preserving a linguistic heritage often associated with their emotional attachment to the home country. However, their children, as heritage speakers, might not share such a deep connection with the heritage culture and their language choices may differ from their parents’ as a result (Czubinska, 2017).

The different approaches to identity and language within a same household call for the problematisation of the concept of heritage in FLP research. As Blackledge and Creese (2010) point out, the notion of heritage is more complex than simply ‘passing on’ a parent’s language and culture. Instead, it is closely linked to the role played by the minority language in the identity formation of each individual. Heritage language learning in transnational families has been linked to Bourdieu’s notion of ‘capital’ (Mu, 2014; Mu and Dooley, 2015). Cultural capital — that is the collection of symbolic elements including linguistic capital, skills, material belongings and modes of thought — (Bourdieu, 1986), is developed during a child’s early years and originates from parents’ desire to transmit such capital. In many families, language is transmitted to children as part of their cultural capital, and it is assumed that it will be part of their collective or individual identity construction process (Blackledge and Creese, 2008; May, 2005; Nicholls, 2005). However, in the case of heritage speakers, and as demonstrated in Mu and Dooley (2015), children’s identification with their parents’ cultural and linguistic heritage is not ‘inevitable’ (Bourdieu, 2000). Instead, heritage values ‘may be transmitted, accepted, contested, subverted, appropriated, and otherwise negotiated’ (Blackledge and Creese, 2008).

While some parents expect their offspring to develop the minority language in order to maintain or preserve a linguistic, ethnic or cultural identity (Lee, 2002), many researchers argue that heritage is not a fixed entity (Bourdieu, 2000; Blackledge and Creese, 2008), but rather a ‘process or performance that is concerned with the production and negotiation of cultural identity, individual and collective memory, and social and cultural values’ (Smith, 2007). It is therefore essential to approach heritage language as ‘experienced individually and separately by different family members’ (Little, 2017). In her mixed-methods research, including Skype interviews with ten transnational families in the UK, Little describes how parents’ and children’s approaches to and uses of the minority language may be linked to their sense of identity. The families in her research come from a variety of linguistic backgrounds and do not have access to local heritage language communities. Like Mu (2014) and Mu and Dooley (2015), Little’s findings suggest that although many parents assume that their young ones have simply *inherited* their cultural identity, some children in transnational families reject their linguistic heritage, with more or less subtlety. Little’s study provides an interesting and much needed insight into young children’s perspectives on family language practice. However, the use of family group interviews via skype, as opposed to individual, face-to-face conversations with the participating children, may have limited the richness of her findings. The current research aims to contribute to a deeper understanding of multilingual children’s experiences through in-depth individual interviews and observations.

The studies cited in this section reflect the emerging interest in the unique bilingual experiences of transnationals and how this diversity may translate into multiple cultural identities within a family. The different approaches to the minority language often entail practical and emotional challenges specific to multilingual families.

2.4.3 FLP, Well-being and Emotional Challenges

The emotional aspect of multilingualism within the transnational family and its impact on its members remain largely unexplored. Because language choices within a family are far from neutral (De Houwer, 2009), they may produce positive or conflictual interrelationships. There still is today scarce data on the emotional well-being and challenges experienced by transcultural families as a result of the language contact situations they find themselves in. It is critical to understand how multilingualism may, positively or negatively, affect the rapport between family

members, and in turn, impact on the well-being of individuals within a family (Chuang, 2005).

Well-being is a difficult concept to define in broad terms as it involves a wide range of phenomena such as a person's subjective assessment of life satisfaction, cultural experience or personal emotional responses (Diener *et al.*, 1999). However, in the particular context of FLP and multilingualism, the notion of well-being can be defined and studied through the lens of De Houwer's (2006) concept of 'Harmonious Bilingual Development' (HBD). HBD refers to 'the absence of negative experiences attributed to the linguistically diverse situation' within a multilingual family (De Houwer, 2006). In other words, HBD occurs when children and their parents do not experience any relational problems because of the language contact situation. The opposite of HBD can be described as conflictive bilingual development (De Houwer, 2013). HBD, just like general well-being, remains difficult to assess since it involves an affective component (Warr, 2012) and it is, therefore, unreasonable to expect that researchers can describe with any certainty whether an individual or a family is experiencing HBD (De Houwer, 2013). Besides, any generalisation of the factors contributing to HBD would be irrelevant since, as argued in the previous sections, experiences among and within transnational families can vary significantly. Last but not least, understanding language-related well-being remains challenging due to the lack of literature on the topic. That said, it is possible to assess whether a family experiences a high number of conflicts related to language use or if any of its members expresses negative thoughts or emotions towards bilingualism, the languages involved or the FLP. It can be seen as self-evident that recurrent conflicts due to a language contact situation may affect the transnational family's well-being (De Houwer, 2013). The current study aims to address the need for more research on the emotional significance and challenges of developing the HL by analysing both parents and children's thoughts and feelings related to FLP.

Although De Houwer (2013) points out that there have been no systematic studies of HBD, she identifies a few factors as either conducive to HBD or leading to conflictual bilingual development. According to the researcher, the use of a single language during parent-child interactions would favour HBD. On the contrary, bilingual conversations (Saville-Troike, 1987) – that is when each interlocutor speaks a different language but understands both languages involved in the interactions – would ultimately create tensions. De Houwer's proposition (2013) is inferred from her review of existing studies from a variety of perspectives on HL development (Gafaranga, 2010; Wong Fillmore, 2000; Portes and Hao, 1998; Tseng and Fuligni,

2000). Therefore, her suggestions lack the support of research evidence with a specific focus on HBD and the challenges created by language contact situations. De Houwer also suggests that a child's active use of both languages positively impacts HBD whereas a much lower proficiency in the HL may be the source of conflictive bilingual development. This idea is based on the fact that communication with the minority-language parent and with the extended family might be impaired by a low HL proficiency. De Houwer argues that a child's lack of HL skills may damage the emotional connection between the parents and their offspring and may result in the child losing part of his or her cultural identity. The above-mentioned potential factors of HBD seem to revolve essentially around the child's ability to actively use both languages as the key to achieving harmony within the transnational family. One may argue that it seems unreasonable or even unfair to confer such responsibility on the children and that parental language ideologies and expectations are more likely to shape a family's language practices (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009) which, in turn, may affect HBD. Besides, De Houwer's suggestion that monolingual interactions in the minority language favour harmony is at odds with recent research describing translanguaging practices as part of the transnational identity formation process (Garcia, 2009; Li, 2017). Moreover, recent studies have emphasised the importance of parental flexibility as a condition for successful FLP (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013; Doyle, 2013; Palviainen and Boyd, 2013) while other researchers have called for a more positive attitude towards translanguaging, among parents and within the academic community (Soler and Zabrodska, 2017). Based on a twelve-year research study involving her four children, Kopeliovich's (2013) promotes a child-centred approach to bilingual parenting through which children's multilingual repertoire is perceived as an asset rather than a problem. She proposes the 'Happylingual Approach' described as the 'positive emotional colouring of the complex processes related to the heritage language transmission, a special emphasis on the linguistic aspects of childrearing, unbiased attitudes to diverse languages that enter the household, and respect for the language preferences of the children'. Kopeliovich's (2013) notion of happylingual encourages parents to move away from the pressure of linguistic purism and embrace a flexible approach to bilingual childrearing in which language mixing is perceived positively.

The research and debate around bilingual parenting show that HLs have a stronger emotional resonance than other languages, such as a second language learned in a classroom environment (Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Pavlenko, 2007). It is evident that the place of the minority language within a transnational family is likely

to play an important role for some or all FLP actors (Little, 2017; Hirsch and Lee, 2018). Melo-Pfeifer (2015) provided one of the rare studies of children's perspectives on the importance of their heritage language. She gave evidence of bilingual children's affective attachment to their HL using a collection of drawings from six to twelve-year-old Portuguese heritage speakers in Germany, as well as extracts from an online discussion forum between adolescent Portuguese heritage speakers. Melo-Pfeifer's findings reveal a strong association, among children, between their HL and the family milieu. The children's drawings and the accompanying comments described 'moments of happiness' [in a] friendly communication locus' (2015:34). Besides, the findings highlighted children's perception of the HL as a medium for bonding with their grandparents and connecting with the past (Braun, 2012). The emotions and feelings associated with the HL have been described by other researchers (Kramsch, 2009; Little, 2017; Pavlenko, 2007; Pavlenko, 2012). In addition to the affective factor, the HL may play an essential role when it is related to ethnic identity (He, 2010; Li and Zhu, 2013), in which case, it may reinforce a sense of belonging to the ethno-linguistic community. These findings show that the minority language can play an essential and positive role within transnational families where it conveys a sense of kinship and collective belonging. However, as Zhu and Li (2016: 665) point out, 'whilst we celebrate the benefits of bilingualism and multilingualism, we should avoid romanticising them, or seeing them as universally positive experiences'. Growing up or raising children bilingually entails considerable challenges, and FLP itself may emerge as the source or the object of family tensions.

Research on the difficulties experienced by multilingual families is a necessary perspective and should not be perceived as a pessimistic approach to bilingual childrearing (Okita, 2002). Many studies have reported the benefits of bilingualism (see previous paragraph) and the satisfaction of creating hybrid identities, especially through translanguaging practices (Li and Zhu, 2013). Most existing research in the field has been concerned with parents' emotional and practical difficulties in relation to the FLP. Okita's (2002) valuable ethnographic study of English-Japanese families in the UK highlights the pressure experienced by minority language mothers to develop their children's HL. Although these mothers' expectations are essentially self-imposed, they require, nonetheless, a high investment of time and energy. Okita accurately describes how such emotionally demanding and 'invisible work' is the source of many internal conflicts for the Japanese mothers. While they would like their children to learn the HL 'naturally', they also had to manage their time and activities in order to prioritise the use of

Japanese at home. Moreover, mothers were divided between their wish to engage more in the local culture and the necessity to nurture their Japanese heritage. Finally, they were conflicted in their desire to create a good communication environment for their young ones while needing to continuously remind their children to speak the HL. These mothers' time-consuming efforts to develop their offspring's HL skills were also a source of tensions in their relationships with their partners. Okita's study highlighted the fact that the work involved in bilingual childrearing often remains 'invisible' to many fathers who may feel neglected and marginalised. Her findings were echoed in a number of studies involving a variety of linguistic backgrounds and describing the struggles of bilingual parenting (Caldas and Caron-Caldas, 2002; King and Fogle, 2006; Nesteruk, 2010).

Other researchers have focused on the fundamental reasons for FLP-related conflicts between first and second generations. As Blackledge and Creese (2010) point out, the heritage language may play a different role for parents and children, which may lead to friction. De Fina and Perrino's special issue of *Applied Linguistics* (2013) problematises the idea of homogeneous linguistic communities and languages attached to given nations. While first-generation parents may associate their native language with their roots and belonging to a homeland, second-generation transnationals do not necessarily link their heritage language to a geographic or cultural territory. In other words, transnational children's relationship to the HL must be approached through the notion of 'deterritorialization' and 'decentering' of languages and cultures (De Costa, 2016:15). While many second-generation immigrant children do develop their HL to various degrees, they do not do so in their parents' country of origin. Consequently, heritage speakers may not share nor be aware of the emotional attachment that the HL may represent to the minority-language parent, hence the confusion and conflicts existing in certain transnational families (Czubinska, 2017). Inversely, parents do not always understand that their children may not identify with the heritage culture and may, instead, define themselves through a monolingual and mono-cultural identity (Mu, 2014). In this case, and as described in Mu, parents' insistence on *preserving* or *retaining* a linguistic heritage may lead to tensions within the family. The imposition of a given cultural identity and the language proficiency expectations associated with it are sometimes contested or rejected by second-generation transnationals (Duff, 2015). That said, it is important to mention that not all parents have a strong attachment to their native languages, and some might base their FLP purely on strategic or practical language choices (Gogonas and Kirsch, 2016). In a recent study exploring

transnational families' language attitudes and their efforts to develop the HL, Little (2017) describes the various perceptions of the HL among and within multilingual families. As a result, she proposes a 'Conceptual framework of heritage language identities' outlining the possible explicit and implicit motivations for developing the minority language. Little's framework describes the role and importance attributed to the HL by both parents and children. Each quadrant translates their positions based on a continuum between pragmatic and emotional motivations and on a scale of importance ranging from peripheral to essential. For instance, parents on the peripheral/emotional quadrant may support the HL in order to facilitate communication with the grandparents but do not perceive it as essential to their well-being. Peripheral/pragmatic individuals are more likely to be motivated by social and professional prospects, like Norton Peirce's notion of investment (2013). Families in which one or both parents do not speak the majority language would find themselves on the essential/pragmatic borderline where the HL is central to family communication. Little's findings reveal that members of the same family often occupy different categories of the framework, which may be the source of conflicts. Little also reports tensions between parents due to their different approaches to the HL. In intermarried families, even when the majority language parent endorses the idea of raising children bilingually, he or she does not share the minority-language parent's emotional attachment to the HL. Little's study shows the variety of approaches to bilingualism among and within transnational families. Using a framework for categorising collective and individual positions seems to contradict the very idea of understanding the complexity of the transnational experience. However, used in combination with an in-depth study of FLP, the framework of HL identities may be a useful tool to explore the possible sources of family conflicts related to language contact situations.

While transnationalism is becoming more and more common (Blommaert, 2010), the wider society may not always appreciate the difficulties faced by transnationals and the personal investment that a multicultural family demands (Duff, 2015). There is therefore a need for more data regarding the linguistic challenges that such families encounter. Besides, most of the literature has focused on parental beliefs and feelings related to bilingual childrearing, whereas the children's voice remains a rare perspective in FLP research.

2.5 Children in Family Language Policy and Heritage Language Research

2.5.1 Bilingual Children's Language Attitudes

A large amount of data related to bilingual children's thoughts on and feelings towards particular languages have emerged from studies concerned with language attitudes. The *Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics* (Richards and Schmidt, 2013) defines *language attitude* as 'the attitude which speakers of different languages or language varieties have towards each other's languages or to their own language'. Despite the apparent simplicity of this definition, the concept of attitude alone remains difficult to describe considering its breadth and its subjective nature (Garrett, 2010). Both Baker (1993) and Garrett (2010) propose to tackle the complex notion of attitude through three components: cognitive, affective, and behavioural. The cognitive aspect corresponds to a person's beliefs or knowledge. The affective element refers to one's feelings and emotions about the language. Finally, the behavioural component is the action taken as a result of both the cognitive and affective aspects of attitude. Baker (1988) also highlights the need to approach language attitudes as complex psychological constructs which may vary across time, as opposed to fixed frames of mind. The idea of language attitude as an evolving phenomenon is reflected in cross-sectional studies among children of different ages (Miller, 2017) as well as through longitudinal research (Smith-Christmas, 2016).

Research into language attitude embraces a variety of methodological approaches that can be described as either direct or indirect assessment techniques (Ryan and Giles, 1982). Direct measurement techniques consist of questionnaires and interviews in which the researcher enquires about the participants' reasons for learning a particular language, their level of appreciation of and preference for a given language and their views on certain linguistic communities or the desirability of bilingualism (Oriyama 2010, Fedricks, 2012). However, as with most qualitative methods, the researcher's challenge is to assess the extent to which elicited attitudes reflect participants' real thoughts and feelings towards the languages in question (O'Rourke, 2013). As a result, some scholars have proposed indirect measures

specifying the degree of congruence between reported and unconscious language attitudes (Fishman, 1970, Lambert *et al.*, 1960).

One of these indirect methods is the matched-guise test technique first used by Lambert *et al.* (1960), in which a person reads the same text in different guises - either different languages or accents. The research participants, unaware that the recorded voices are from the same individual, evaluate the speaker based on given personality traits such as sociability or sense of humour (Kircher, 2016). Many studies have used the matched-guise test with a view to capturing a person's true feelings and prejudices towards a given language (Loureiro-Rodriguez, Goldsmith and Boggess, 2012). While matched-guise tests offer a better guarantee of the data authenticity, it is questionable that their experimental design, within a controlled and artificial environment, can capture the complexity and individuality of language attitudes. It can be argued that direct measurements through questionnaires and interviews, used in a more natural setting, may better account for the variety of attitudes (Ladegaard, 2000). Besides, given the lack of literature, it is unclear whether the matched-guise method is appropriate for very young children as they might not be able to rate speakers on their speech (Miller, 2017). Considering that the aim of the current research is to investigate the unique experiences of bilinguals, rather than uncover deep-rooted prejudices towards a language, the use of indirect methods would not be a judicious methodological choice. Direct measurements, however, through interviews and language portraits, allow for a better appreciation of children's intricate attitudes towards the HL, their FLPs and bilingualism. Although assessing people's feelings and beliefs about languages is a challenging task, it is essential to pursue investigating language attitudes since they affect the reality of multilingual families (Grosjean, 1982; Baker, 2011).

A considerable amount of literature on children's language attitudes concerns second language learners (Dörnyei, 2009; Masgoret and Gardner, 2003; Al Rifai, 2010). These studies demonstrate how positive or negative attitudes towards a language may be linked to its level of importance in the learner's life, its status in society, the perceived ease or difficulty of learning the language in question, as well as the learner's feelings about the speakers of that language (Richards and Schmidt, 2013). While studies on the link between language attitudes and second language acquisition offer precious insights, we still have to determine how attitudinal research can be applied to heritage speakers (Miller, 2017). Most studies of HL attitudes within bilingual families have focused on parental language beliefs and how these affect the FLP (Curdts-Christiansen, 2009, 2016; García, Zakharia and Otcu, 2013;

Pérez Báez, 2013; Lee and Suarez, 2005; Martin, 2009; Schwartz, 2008; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). There is only scarce data on children's attitudes towards the languages they grow up with and how FLP may influence these language attitudes. In order to investigate language attitudes among transnational children, it is important to keep in mind the particular status of heritage languages (see section 2.2.1 'Defining Heritage Speakers'). HSs have a personal connection to their HL regardless of their level of proficiency (Fishman, 2001). Therefore, the complexity of language attitudes may be even deeper, including the co-existence of both positive and negative feelings attached to the HL (Baker, 1988). For example, while some children may dislike speaking the minority language, they may still have a positive attitude towards it given that it is spoken by their loved ones, including one or both parents (Miller, 2017). Besides, since the minority language is often present in the child's life from infancy, HL attitudes are likely to vary over the years (Baker, 1988). The added emotional complexity of HL attitudes requires attitudinal research studies specifically designed for young HSs.

So far, the majority of attitudinal studies among HSs were conducted in classroom settings in either mainstream high schools and universities (Carreira and Kagan, 2011) or in supplementary schools (Blackledge and Creese, 2008, Oriyama, 2010, Otcu, 2010). In a large-scale survey ($n = 1,732$) across several regions of the United States, Carreira and Kagan (2011) investigated the attitudes, motivations and goals of heritage language learners (HLL). Participants responses to a series of 45 questions revealed an overwhelmingly positive attitude towards their respective heritage languages. HLLs in the study reported that their positive attitudes towards learning the minority language were linked to their desire to connect with their linguistic communities and families. Cho's (2015) study of 260 second-generation Korean-American high school students showed similar results with 75% of participants reporting that speaking, reading and writing their HL was important. Many other studies among adolescents and young adult HSs have shown positive attitudes towards the HL (Cho, Shin and Krashen, 2004; Nguyen, Shin and Krashen, 2001). Others have suggested that a positive HL attitude is linked to a stronger sense of ethnic and cultural identity Cho, 2015; Tse, 1998). In turn, the desire to preserve one's sense of ethnic identity may encourage HSs to use their HL (Pease-Alvarez, 2002; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Suarez, 2002). If many researchers have suggested that HSs or learners tend to have positive feelings and beliefs about the minority language, it is important to point out that most of these studies focus on adolescent or young adult students who have chosen to enrol in a HL course. It is therefore likely

that they will hold positive attitudes towards their heritage languages. Miller's (2017) research into the language attitudes of HSs of Spanish in the American Midwest offers more nuanced findings. Her cross-sectional analysis among elementary school children from kindergarten to fifth grade is an attempt to understand the evolution of language attitudes throughout childhood. The author suggests that first-grade children's attitudes towards Spanish are positive while older pupils (grades two to four) show a preference for English, which the author attributes to negative attitudes towards Spanish. Fifth-grade children's preference for English seems less pronounced but still relevant. Miller's study addresses the need for diachronic data in the field of HL attitudes. However, such data would require longitudinal studies to describe attitude change among individual children as opposed to overall patterns, as is the case in Miller's research. Besides, the fact that children prefer the dominant language as they become more immersed in school life may not be indicative of negative attitudes towards their HL. The differences observed between children from various school grades may simply reflect the realities and demands of their daily environment. While kindergarten children are slowly transitioning from a home to a social setting, older pupils have fully adjusted to a daily routine in which English is dominant. This point highlights the necessity to distinguish between language *attitude* and language *preference*.

As described previously, language attitude reflects one's feelings and beliefs about a given language, whereas language preference simply indicates 'which of two languages or varieties is preferred for certain purposes in certain situations' (Giles, Hewstone and Ball, 1983: 83). This is why many researchers use the terms *language preference* or *language choice* interchangeably (Arua and Magocha, 2002; Mishina-Mori, 2011; Schwartz, 2010). Language preference can therefore be assessed by using family audits to gauge the child's language outputs (Curdts-Christiansen, 2016) or through regular audio recording (Caldas and Caron-Caldas, 2000, 2002). While language attitudes are emotionally charged, language preference is linked to the environmental context and related to certain speech activities (Fishman, 1971; Caldas and Caron-Caldas, 2002). In many cases, language choices are simply based on the bilingual person's level of proficiency in each language (Gee, Walsemann and Takeuchi, 2009). Therefore, preference for a particular language does not necessarily translate into negative attitudes towards the other variety. This implies that one's preference for the majority language is compatible with a positive attitude towards the heritage language (Dweik and Hanadi, 2015; Min Jung, 2018). In her seven-year longitudinal research on Mexican-American children, Pease-Alvarez (2002) found

that participants had both positive perceptions of the HL and bilingualism and positive attitudes towards English. A considerable number of studies on HL have reported an overwhelming preference among HSs for the dominant language (Brown, 2014; Cho, 2015; Ferguson, 2013; Pease-Alvarez, 2002; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Soehl, 2016).

Attitudinal studies conducted in a classroom setting are helpful to highlight general trends within linguistic communities. However, the complexities of bilingual children's feelings and beliefs about their languages require a more in-depth analysis of language attitudes within the intimate environment of family. Most of the literature combining FLP and language attitudes has been concerned with establishing a link between the children's HL attitudes and their proficiency in the minority language (Baker, 1992; Garrett, 2010; Karahan, 2007; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). This focus is based on the idea that personal language attitudes, together with family and community, are the main factors contributing to maintenance or loss of the minority language (Lee and Suarez, 2005). There is a consensus among researchers that developing the HL is easier for individuals who hold positive attitudes towards it (Tannenbaum, 2003; Tonami, 2005; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). Unlike previous studies on HSs' language attitudes, this thesis is not concerned with the relationship between HL attitudes and proficiency. Instead, the present study examines children's language attitudes as an element of their overall bilingual and FLP experiences.

As mentioned in the previous section (2.4), there has recently been a change of focus in the field of FLP towards understanding individual experiences within transnational families (Zhu and Li, 2016). While many studies have investigated parental ideologies and emotions regarding bilingual childrearing (De Houwer, 2013; King and Fogle, 2006; Nesteruk, 2010; Okita, 2002), children's attitudes towards the minority language and the FLP remain largely unexplored. Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe (2009) provide interesting insights by describing how first-generation Chinese transnationals' highly positive attitudes towards transmitting their native language contrast with their children's perception of Chinese as worthless or irrelevant when living outside the country of origin. Children's negative feelings towards their home language were previously linked to their desire to fit in as they started primary school (Tse, 1998). As they mature, children may avoid or reject the minority language in an attempt to integrate the majority culture. Little (2017) also provides an interesting perspective by demonstrating how the combination of strong parental emotional attachment to the minority language and children's negative attitudes to it may create

conflicts within the family. However, the study does not include individual interviews with the children, which limits the scope and richness of its results. Further research is needed to understand how these variations in language attitude may affect individual family members and the family's well-being in general.

2.5.2 Heritage Language Anxiety

Some studies involving young heritage speakers have also investigated the feeling of anxiety they may experience when using the minority language (Dewaele and Sevinç, 2017). The concept of language anxiety was first proposed by Horwitz and Cope (1986) as part of their research on foreign language teaching in a classroom setting. They defined language anxiety as “a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings and behaviours related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of language learning experience” (p.128). Therefore, the original idea of language anxiety specifically concerns the language learning experience within a formal environment and involving potential fear of negative evaluation and test anxiety (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986). Gardner and MacIntyre (1993) built on the concept of language anxiety by emphasising the necessity to investigate *situation-specific anxiety* such as learning a second language at school. Researchers have described the main psycho-physiological effects of foreign language anxiety, including apprehension, nervousness, panic or ‘freezing up’ (Horwitz, Horwitz and Cope, 1986; Young, 1990). There is a consensus among researchers that foreign language anxiety has a negative impact on foreign language learning (Tran, Baldauf and Moni, 2013; Yan and Kolker Horwitz, 2008). Like research on language attitudes, most studies of language anxiety have focused on traditional language learners, in a formal educational context, with a view to facilitating improvements in foreign language teaching (Horwitz, 2010). While transnationalism has been a growing phenomenon over the years, little is known about the language anxiety experienced by heritage speakers in their daily life. As reported by many scholars, maintaining a HL in a predominantly monolingual environment is often challenging (De Houwer, 2009, 2011; Schwartz, 2008; Smith-Christmas, 2016). Consequently, children who grow up bilingually may not always develop their minority language to a level where they can comfortably communicate with native speakers of the HL, including their parents and grandparents (Braun, 2012). This would suggest that heritage speakers’ personal attachment to their HL adds an emotional layer to language anxiety as experienced by second-language learners. Besides, heritage

speakers are often viewed and described as native speakers of the HL by their parents, their extended families and the HL community. This perception of HSs may be accompanied by high parental expectations of proficiency in the minority language (Piller, 2001), which in turn, may exacerbate children's feelings of insecurity and self-perceived ability to maintain a certain image or identity (Labov, 1972). For this reason, it is essential to consider Gardner and MacIntyre's (1993) idea of situation-specific anxiety and study heritage speakers' language anxiety as a separate and unique phenomenon.

One of the first attempts to explore language anxiety among heritage speakers was Tallon's study (2009) of university-level students of Spanish heritage in the United-States. Based on findings obtained through a Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety Scale (FLCAS), the author concluded that heritage learners of Spanish experienced lower levels of language anxiety than learners of Spanish as a foreign language. The differences observed between heritage and non-heritage learners led Tallon to propose the concept of Heritage Language Anxiety (HLA) to account for the particular situation of heritage speakers and distinguish them from foreign language learners. Following Tallon's initiative, other researchers have investigated heritage speakers' language anxiety in relation to specific language skills (Luo, 2015). Xiao and Wong's (2014) study of Chinese heritage learners in the USA shows that writing tasks cause the most anxiety among students. Luo's (2015) findings confirm high levels of anxiety linked to writing and reading and demonstrate that motivation and self-perceived proficiency in Mandarin are correlated to the level of language anxiety experienced. This research focuses on the language anxiety of heritage learners in formal education and raises two issues. First, most research on heritage language learners' anxiety has been conducted in the United-States where high schools and universities offer heritage-track language courses specifically for students who grew up speaking a minority language at home. Such heritage language courses are not common in other parts of the world which prevents generalising these results to other cultural and linguistic contexts. More essentially, the above-cited studies concentrate on adolescents and young adults who deliberately chose to enrol in a heritage language course and who may, therefore, be experiencing low levels of HLA to begin with. Besides, it is not clear whether the anxiety experienced by some heritage speakers is simply linked to the fact that they find themselves in a formal classroom setting or whether it is intrinsically related to their heritage speaker status. In order to understand HLA, it is essential to expand the concept beyond the

classroom context and investigate the daily experiences of young bilinguals within their families and linguistic communities (Sevinç and Dewaele, 2016).

As with research into language attitudes, most literature on language anxiety outside the classroom concerns adult bilinguals. Many researchers' efforts to establish a link between socio-demographic factors and levels of HLA (level of education, Garcia de Blakeley et al., 2015; gender and age of acquisition, Dewaele and Petrides, 2008) have been inconclusive. This might suggest that HLA ought to be approached from a qualitative perspective in order to understand the complexity of heritage speakers' experiences. While research findings regarding adult HSs may help understand children's experiences, there is a critical need for more data on young bilingual children's language anxiety within the private spheres of family and HL communities. Cho's (2015) study of second-generation Korean-American adolescents offers interesting elements of a response as to the sort of anxiety HSs may experience and the factors that may trigger HLA. Many participants in Cho's research report experiencing language anxiety within the Korean community. Adolescents with low HL proficiency in particular express their fear of criticism by first generation Korean speakers. They describe native Korean speakers' negative feedback and comments on their HL skills as a source of anxiety and embarrassment. Cho suggests that HLA may, in some cases, affect teenagers' self-esteem and lead them to reject their minority language and feel alienated from the HL community. Julie, one of the adolescents interviewed, expresses her frustration as follows:

They [fluent Korean speakers] are very disrespectful and mean to me for not speaking Korean well. Korean people, even those who live in the U.S., are very cruel to me for not knowing Korean. I am nice to foreigners, but they [Korean native speakers] are mean to me. That's the reason that I don't want to associate with them. Many times, I pretend that I am Chinese because people think I look Chinese, and I don't want to bother to correct their perception (...).

Julie's comments and Cho's findings echo Krashen's (1998) concept of heritage speakers' 'language shyness'. According to the author,

because HL speakers are part of the HL group, their imperfections are very salient to more proficient speakers, who may respond by correcting and even with ridicule. Such responses can be devastating to less proficient HL speakers. Error correction and criticism do not help them; they have the opposite effect: Rather than risk error, they interact less in the HL (p.41).

HLA as described by Cho (2015) and Krashen (1998) may have a strong negative impact on young Heritage speakers. More research giving voice to children is needed in order to understand their bilingual and bicultural experiences beyond the boundaries of the classroom.

2.5.3 Children's Role in FLP

Until recently, research on family language policy has focused on parental language ideologies and management and their potential impact on children's heritage language development. This approach implies that children are the objects or recipients of a FLP designed and implemented by their parents (Fogle and King, 2013). However, more recent studies have demonstrated that whilst caregivers might take the initiative to implement a particular language policy, the family's language practices are often modified and negotiated over time (Gafaranga, 2010; Palviainen and Boyd, 2013). Therefore, and as Fogle (2013) argues, 'family language policy is not simply the result of parental ideologies and strategies, but rather a dynamic process in which children play an active role of influencing code choice and shaping family language ideologies'(pp.196-197).

This bidirectional view of family language policy is well reflected in recent language socialisation studies which have described children as 'active and creative social agents' (Lanza, 2007:47). Early research has approached language socialisation as a process in which parents socialise children through language and to language in socially appropriate ways (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986). This simplistic view of language socialisation has recently led some scholars to point out that young family members not only take part in their own socialisation, but that they may also socialise parents and siblings into particular linguistic practices (Gafaranga, 2010; Goodwin, 2006; Luykx, 2003; King and Fogle, 2013). A few studies have shown that in transnational families, second-generation children's high exposure to the majority language through formal education may, unintentionally, pressure parents to use the majority language (Luykx, 2005). Luykx's study (2003) of Aymara-Spanish families in Bolivia describes how children's monolingual use of Spanish (the societal language) led parents to code-switch. In turn, Children imitate adults' translanguaging practices during play. The young participants in Luykx's research are both objects and agents of socialisation (Ochs, 1988). Siblings have also been shown to take part in the socialisation process of younger family members (Fogle and King, 2013). Older children's preference for the majority language during sibling interactions may accelerate language shift among younger members of the family

(Rindstedt and Aronsson, 2002; Bridges and Hoff, 2014). The notion of children's agency- that is, the "socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (Ahearn, 2001:112), has recently received some attention in FLP research (Fogle and King, 2013; Gyogi, 2015; Revis, 2016). Children's agency in shaping FLP has been demonstrated mostly through conversation analysis based on observation in the family home. For instance, Gafaranga's study (2010) of Rwandan families in Belgium shows how children, through medium request (the constant request from children that adults switch from one language variety to another), are able to speak mostly French at home, eventually leading to language shift from Kinyarwanda. Similarly, Curdt-Christiansen (2013) describes a Chinese family's language practices, in Singapore, during which the child insists on switching to English when discussing school-related topics. More recently, Gyogi (2015) has added onto these findings by demonstrating how two Japanese-English young girls in London exercise their agency through code-switching at home, despite their mothers' effort to establish a Japanese monolingual family context. The researcher also describes the young participants' agency as a means to construct positive social identities, reflecting previous literature on the use of flexible language practices as a tool to create a unique and sophisticated transnational identity (Creese and Blackledge, 2011; Li and Zhu, 2013).

However, children may also exercise their agency in order to resist parental language ideologies and practices. Children's resistance strategies to FLP have been well documented in Fogle's study (2013) of three American-Russian adoptive families. Analysis of conversation samples from an English-speaking mother and her two adoptive teenage girls clearly shows how the adolescents insist on using Russian despite the adult's effort to establish English-only interactions. In Fogle and King (2013), siblings in an English-Spanish bilingual family in the USA negotiate their positions through their language choices. The older child who is more proficient in Spanish resists the other family members' tendency to use English and makes a point of speaking her HL to assert her first-born child status. Resistance to FLP may also involve the use of metalinguistic comments about the family's language rules and practices (Fogle and King, 2013; Zhu, 2008; Smith-Christmas, 2016, Revis, 2016). Revis' research (2016) among Colombian and Ethiopian refugees in New Zealand shows that children engage in discussion about language choice and parental expectations. Lydia, a young girl, gets upset when asked to speak Amharic (the official language of Ethiopia) in the home and explicitly states that using the HL is unnecessary because she is 'kiwi'. The emerging interest in the role of children as FLP agents reveals that parental language planning efforts may be negotiated,

contested or even rejected (Spolsky, 2008:18). Besides, children, like their parents, are influenced by external ideologies related to language, ethnicity and culture. Through these external factors, heritage speakers may shape language practices and a sense of identity diverging from parental expectations (Canagarajah, 2008; Zhu, 2008).

A few researchers have focused on family-external linguistic and cultural norms, including ideologies of language and race, and their effects on children's values and views of the family language policy (Canagarajah, 2008; Wong Fillmore, 2000). Children may introduce such ideologies and language practices within the family, which in turn, impact the FLP (Fogle and King, 2013). In Fogle and King (2013), the two older siblings in an Ecuadorian-American family described their younger sister as being a 'white-y' due to her lighter skin colour but also because she was perceived as essentially English-speaking, as opposed to her eldest sibling who is more proficient in Spanish. Zhu's study (2008) of the relationship between social interaction and socio-cultural values among Chinese families shows how first and second-generation transnationals negotiate their values and identities through language choice. An interaction between a mother and her daughter reveals that what may appear as a simple use of pronouns reflects profound differences between Western individualistic values versus the more collectivist Chinese social norms.

The recent literature on language socialisation and child agency in FLP reviewed in this section highlights the dynamic and multi-actor nature of FLP. While children play a role in shaping FLP in all sorts of family settings, it is particularly the case in transnational families where various linguistic and cultural influences come together (Fogle and King, 2013). These findings suggest that the traditional approach to FLP as a 'top-down' phenomenon (Fogle 2013) does not account for the complexity and dynamism of language practices within multilingual families. Therefore, more attention must be given to the role of children in shaping FLP.

2.5.4 Children's Experiences of Bilingualism

As discussed previously, researchers in FLP have recently turned their attention to the diversity of experiences among and within transnational families (Zhu and Li, 2016). This new interest in individuals' perspectives also involves moving away from the question of HL proficiency, towards understanding children's emotional, psychological and relational experiences of bilingualism and FLP. Geva and Jean (2012) have explored the affective responses and beliefs of Canadian school-aged

French-English bilingual children regarding their two languages. 63 HSs between 8 and 10 years old were asked to express the affect they associated with particular situations involving speaking, listening, reading and writing activities. A quantitative analysis of their responses indicated that a majority of children felt positively about speaking and listening to the HL (French) in the home environment. They associated positive affect with the societal language (English) across all language domains regardless of location. Qualitative analysis of children's justification of their chosen affects shows that they attributed their responses largely to their level of skills in French and English. Some of the young participants mentioned feeling 'happy' about speaking the HL because they knew 'a lot of words' in the language. Others attributed their negative feeling to their limited linguistic abilities and the fear of criticism from first generation speakers. These results reveal that children as young as eight are aware of their level of language proficiency and may feel self-conscious about not meeting language expectations. They also question the idea according to which most children acquire language easily due to a lack of inhibition. Another justification provided by the participants to explain their positive affect towards using the HL at home was the assistance they received from their family. On the other hand, the lack of support from parents with English literacy tasks led to negative affect to English reading and writing activities in the home. Geva and Jean's study (2012) addresses the pressing need for data regarding school-age children's emotional experiences of bilingualism. However, the authors' focus on children's responses to the various language and literacy domains excludes a more holistic approach to bilingualism involving daily interactions and relationships within their families. Whilst establishing trends of young HSs' response patterns is important, the complex and personal nature of transnationalism requires a more in-depth investigation of a child's unique experience of bilingualism within a given FLP. Melo-Pfeifer (2015) took a more personal approach to children's bilingual experiences by investigating the relationship they develop with their HL through family. The author's qualitative methods including drawings by six to twelve-year old children, as well as data collected from a teenager's online forum, which allowed for more intimate insights. Besides, the instructions provided to the young participants during the data collection activities were general enough to allow for participant-led themes. Adolescents on the forum were asked: 'What does it mean to have Portuguese roots, nowadays?', and the request to younger children was 'Draw yourself speaking the languages you know'. Participants' drawings and online responses highlighted the role played by family in children's attachment to their HL. The first theme identified by Melo-

Pfeifer is the emotional role of the nuclear family in language transmission, which the children also associated with identity development. The young participants also described family as playing a cognitive role by supporting HL acquisition in the home. Their emotional and cognitive relationship to the HL was also linked to the wider HL community, with a special place attributed to grandparents. Children described how they operated in a monolingual environment during their visits to Portugal whereas Germany represented a heteroglossic space where they were able to translanguage. These results demonstrate young heritage speakers' awareness of language context, and more importantly, of their wide linguistic resources. Melo-Pfeifer's study offers a rare insight into children's perspectives on bilingualism. However, further research is needed in order to include the challenges experienced by young HSs due to their bilingualism, as well as the link between children's bilingual experiences and the family language policies occurring in the home.

The lack of data on children's experiences of bilingualism and FLP suggests that the field would benefit from future research placing the emphasis on bilinguals' lived linguistic experiences (Busch, 2017; Soler and Zabrodskaia, 2017). Busch (ibid), through her concept of *spracherleben* (the lived experience of language), argues that in the current context of greater mobility and transnationalism, linguistic communities can no longer be approached as fixed entities. Instead, the subjective aspect of language must be considered, and the focus must be placed on the perspective of the experiencing subject. Busch's concept of *spracherleben* involves moving away from the traditional concern in FLP research with how proficient multilingual children are in their languages. The author's approach meets other scholars' call for a more heteroglossic study of how young heritage speakers construct their identities, making use of their entire linguistic repertoire to mark their belonging to a particular group or culture. Moreover, the notion of the lived experience of language puts the emphasis on the emotional experience of the bilingual speaker as paramount. There is, therefore, a strong need for studies integrating children's perspectives into investigations of FLP through research methods adapted to young participants.

2.6 Methodological Approaches in FLP Research

2.6.1 The Variety of Methodological Approaches in FLP Research.

As King (2016) pointed out, recourse to a large range of methodological tools has always been a distinctive trait of FLP research. This variety of approaches reflects the interdisciplinary nature of FLP, combining linguistics, sociology, education and childhood studies (Schwartz, 2010). At the same time, the diversity of methodologies may complicate the comparison of data and impair the generalisability of conclusions (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013). This section of the literature review aims at providing a brief overview of the various approaches to FLP research.

Many scholars have focused on establishing trends or patterns in language practices and beliefs among given ethno-linguistic communities (for instance, Chinese, Spanish and Hebrew speakers in the USA, Gollan, Starr and Ferreira, 2015; Latino, Asian and European communities in the USA, Lee and Suarez, 2005; the Turkish community in Germany, Biedinger, Becker and Klein, 2015). The quantitative tools used in many of these studies consist of socio-demographic and language use questionnaires administered to large samples of parents, as well as standard language tests to assess the children's proficiency in the HL. Quantitative methodologies are often used to identify factors of inter-generational language maintenance and loss. For example, Biedinger et al. (2015) investigated the various contexts of exposure influencing preschool children's acquisition of Turkish in Germany. Through the use of an existing national database, the authors submitted questionnaires to 1,281 Turkish-German parents regarding their family language and literacy practices. The HL vocabulary of pre-schoolers in these families was assessed using a sub-test from the Kaufman Assessment Battery for Children (Kaufman and Kaufman, 1994), which consists of showing pictures of objects to the children and asking them to name them in their HL. Biedinger et al. concluded that the family environment was the most influential context of exposure determining HL development. Other scholars have focused on the link between family-related variables and children's levels of lexical knowledge in the HL (De Houwer, 2006, 2010; Gollan, Starr and Ferreira, 2015; Schwartz, 2008). For instance, Schwartz's (2008) quantitative study of Russian families in Israel revealed a significant correlation between teaching HL literacy at home as a language management method and children's Russian vocabulary knowledge. Other researchers have specifically

focused on measuring the direct impact of parents' language choices on children's HL use and acquisition, through the use of language diaries, in which caregivers record language exposure information for a given period of time (De Houwer, 2011), or through parents' questionnaires (Schwartz, 2008). The purpose of many quantitative studies of FLP is to statistically measure family factors influencing HL development. This approach may be useful to understand the language ideologies (Arriagada, 2005), or practices (De Houwer, 2009) leading to language maintenance or language loss, or to identify language use patterns within given ethno-linguistic communities (Biedinger, Becker and Klein, 2015; Fedricks, 2012; Rasinger, 2013). However, given the complex intertwinement of the social, family and personal spheres, isolating particular variables as responsible for HSs' levels of proficiency remains a challenging objective.

Whilst quantitative methodologies are relevant when investigating the relationship between language practices and children's language development, the recent interest in transnational families' experiences requires a more qualitative approach to FLP. One of the most common qualitative tools in FLP research are in-depth, semi-structured interviews (Schwartz, 2010). In-depth interviewing is an essential tool to understand human experience as it 'offers researchers access to peoples' ideas, thoughts and memories in their own words rather than in the words of the researcher' (Reinharz, 1992). Interviews with transnational parents have been employed to explore their ideologies regarding bilingualism and the level of importance they attribute to maintaining their native language within the family (Brown, 2014; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Ferguson, 2013; Frese and Ward, 2015; Nesteruk, 2010). Other researchers have used interviews as a sensitive method for understanding the process of bilingual childrearing (King and Fogle, 2006; Okita, 2002).

Qualitative approaches to FLP have also included ethnographic investigations including participant observation (Curd-Christiansen, 2015; De Houwer and Bornstein, 2016; Okita, 2002). Smith-Christmas's (2016) eight-year ethnography of a Scottish family offers a diachronic perspective on FLP. Revis (2016) drew on three years of ethnographic observations of refugee families in New Zealand to understand how children influenced their parents' linguistic practices. Observations are also used as a means to understand FLP through conversation analysis (CA). Through this method, researchers have described how family language practices are often modified and negotiated over time (Gafaranga, 2010; Palviainen and Boyd, 2013). Analysis of multilingual families' interactions has made apparent

the influence of children in shaping FLP through language choice (Curd-Christiansen, 2013; Luykx, 2003, 2005), metalinguistic comments (Fogle and King, 2013; Gyogi, 2015) and ‘medium request’ (Gafaranga, 2010:120). Whilst observation used within ethnographic research seeks to understand *why* members make particular language choices, CA is concerned with *how* individuals achieve certain practices (Markee, 2005). It is important to point out that it may be difficult to achieve valid findings based solely on CA given that it often relies on a restricted amount of naturally occurring interactions (Ten Have, 1990).

Observations also offer a way to gauge the level of congruency between reported and actual family language practices. As De Houwer and Bornstein (2016) point out, obtaining a reliable assessment of multilingual families’ language practices remains a challenge for FLP researchers. The authors argue that observational data on parents’ language use is less likely to be influenced by their language attitudes or the concern with projecting a certain image, than self-reported data. Besides, as discussed in section 2.3.3 of this literature review, many studies have identified discrepancies between reported beliefs and practices and observed interactions among family members (Brown, 2014; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Frese and Ward; Schwartz, 2008). Based on these findings, parents’ accounts of family language practices, as a unique source of data, may provide an incomplete or erroneous picture of the FLP.

Qualitative methodologies in FLP research also include novel approaches to exploring bilingual experiences. For instance, the framework of Moment Analysis (Li, 2011; Li and Zhu, 2013) focuses on spontaneous creative language use by multilingual individuals in social interaction. This data collection and analysis method is concerned with understanding what causes a specific creative action at a given moment during an interaction, and what short or long-term consequences this action may have (Li and Zhu, 2013: 522). Like the Moment Analysis method, Purkharthofer’s (2017) approach was inspired by Lefebvre’s (2004) concept of the production of space. The author asked three interlingual couples, expecting their first child, to envision spaces of interaction as a family, using a multimodal narrative method combining interviews, drawings and LEGO® building blocks.

The various methodological tools described in this section show that both quantitative and qualitative methodologies have been widely used in FLP, and each approach may be relevant depending on the research angle and research questions. That said, there has been, in the past decade, an increased interest in methodological triangulation among FLP researchers (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013).

Methodological triangulation ‘entails the use of multiple, independent methods of obtaining data in a single investigation in order to arrive at the same research findings’ (Mackey and Gass, 2005:181). The variety of information sources contributes to reducing interviewer bias and, therefore, reinforces the validity of the data (Johnson, 1992: 146). For instance, Okita (2002) used a two-step approach consisting of a quantitative survey among Japanese-British families in the UK, followed by in-depth individual interviews with a few mothers and fathers. Similarly, Schwartz, Moin and Klayle (2013) applied a mixed-method sequential methodology which involved first collecting quantitative data from Jewish and Arab parents in Israel using questionnaires, then conducting qualitative interviews, at a second stage. The mixed method approach seems particularly well-suited to grasp the complex processes and nuances of language use and transmission within intergenerational transnational families (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013). Besides, and as argued by Schwartz (2010), although quantitative and qualitative approaches have traditionally been treated as antithetical ways of doing research, the growing application of mixed methodologies in FLP research suggests that they in fact offer complementary means for inquiring into complex phenomena.

2.6.2. Conducting FLP Research with Children.

As discussed in the previous section, an important element recently raised by FLP researchers is the need to incorporate children’s perspectives in the data (Fogle and King, 2013; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Schwartz, 2013). The limited amount of information available to date on children’s views may be explained by the difficulty of applying traditional methods such as questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to young participants. For this reason, a few researchers have proposed more creative tools that may suit children’s familiar environment and activities. For instance, the use of drawing may help young research participants describe their experiences through a familiar, non-verbal mode of expression (Busch, 2012), which allows the ‘mise en mouvement d’un imaginaire’ (Moore and Castellotti, 2011:122). For instance, the Portuguese-German children in Melo-Pfeifer’s study (2015) were able to describe their bilingual experiences and the concept of translanguaging through their drawings. That said, it may be challenging to interpret the thoughts that a child intended to convey through his or her drawings. In that respect, language portraits may be better suited to young multilingual participants, in the sense that they include both visual and verbal data and must be analysed based on each speaker’s

descriptions and explanations of his or her portrait (Purkarthofer, 2019). This creative method, mostly used, so far, among Austrian scholars (Krumm and Jenkins, 2001), consists of a body silhouette that children fill in or colour to represent their various linguistic resources and their emotional relationships to them. Different colours are used for different languages, and comments or captions may be added to the portrait (Wolf, 2014). Language portraits are further discussed in the next chapter.

While the use of traditional interviews may be difficult with children, this method can still be *customised* to young participants. For instance, Melo-Pfeifer (2015) used an online forum to ask adolescent Portuguese heritage speakers what it meant to them to have Portuguese roots. Geva and Jean (2012) interviewed eight to ten-year-old Canadian children about their language attitudes, using pictures of a gender-matched protagonist as stimuli. Moreover, the researchers also provided the young French HSs with positive, neutral, or negative facial expression stimuli in order to help them describe the affect they associated with each of their languages.

2.7 Conclusion & Rationale for the Study

The literature reviewed in this chapter shows that the emerging field of FLP has mostly addressed both researchers' and parents' concern with encouraging the development of heritage speakers' bilingualism. However, it also clearly indicates a recent shift of focus towards a more holistic approach to the bilingual experiences of transnational families. This new perspective has also led some scholars to reconsider the notion of success in FLP research (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013), which has traditionally been defined by children's level of proficiency in the HL. The present study proposes that the subjective experiences of transnational families are an essential criterion determining the success of a FLP. The overarching aim of this investigation is to contribute to this new direction in FLP research, by highlighting the variety of approaches and experiences among and within multilingual families. To this end, this study proposes an integrative and dynamic investigation of FLP including both parents' and children's views, and thereby addresses the lack of literature on children's perspectives. In order to understand how both parental language beliefs and young HSs' approaches to HL impact on the way transnational families experience bilingualism, the present research addresses the following questions:

- 1) What are parents' reported beliefs about bilingualism and dual language acquisition?**
- 2) What is the relationship between parents' language beliefs, language management and language practices?**
- 3) What is the link between FLP and parents' experiences of transnationalism and bilingual childrearing?**
- 4) How does FLP impact children's bilingual experiences?**

The integrative nature of this study is also reflected in the use of mixed methods which were selected in order to both understand a variety of transnational experiences and strengthen the validity of the data (Mackey and Gass, 2005). Through an online survey, patterns of parental language management and beliefs about dual language acquisition are identified among French parents in the UK (research questions 1 & 2). At a second stage, in-depth case studies of six families, using semi-structured interviews, language portraits and observations of family interactions, are conducted to gain insight into the impact of FLP on the way individual family members perceive and experience the HL maintenance process (research questions 2, 3 & 4). The methodology used in this study is discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter provides a detailed account of the methodology adopted for this research, starting with the rationale for using mixed methods, followed by a description of the study design and data analysis procedures, a reflection on the role of the researcher and some ethical considerations.

3.1. Research Approach and Rationale for Using Mixed Methods

This study aims to provide a comprehensive account of the family language policies of transnational French-English families in the UK, with a view to identifying a variety of approaches to FLP and understanding how they impact on these families' bilingual experiences and interrelationships. In order to identify existing language beliefs and language management patterns among French parents in Britain, this study started with an anonymous online survey ($n = 164$) and a statistical analysis of its results. Whilst the quantitative data was necessary as a first exploratory stage, it then required to be contextualised in order to comprehend the stories of families and individuals (Zhu and Li, 2016). To this end, this research also draws on six in-depth case studies, allowing research participants to make meaning out of their own experiences through the use of interviews, observations and language portraits.

The choice of a mixed methodology design was guided by a pragmatic approach to research and was therefore not informed by the traditional dichotomy between quantitative and qualitative methodologies. By integrating quantitative and qualitative research methods, this study aims at gaining a more holistic insight into the complex phenomenon of FLP (Johnson and Christensen, 2014) and further our understanding of multilingual families' experiences. In this research, a two-stage approach (Okita, 2002; Schwartz, Moin and Klayle, 2013) first explores the general patterns of a linguistic community through an etic perspective, and then provides a richer understanding of the complex processes of FLP within smaller samples of families of the community in question (Schwartz, 2010). Participants' online responses provided the basis for further investigating the research questions from an emic perspective. In this study, quantitative and qualitative methods are not viewed

as implementing tools of two opposite research approaches, but rather as compensatory techniques for investigating the intricate phenomenon of heritage language transmission, which would have been difficult to grasp using a single method (Morgan, 2014). The combination of an online survey and in-depth multiple case studies was also selected as a way to reduce the researcher's partiality and strengthens the validity of the data obtained from parents and children (Johnson and Christensen, 2014).

In order to investigate how transnational families perceive the complex question of bilingualism, in the private and unstructured sphere of their home, this study uses the concept of family language policy as a guidance tool. FLP, as a conceptual framework is described and discussed in section 2.1 of the literature review. This research also positions itself, theoretically, within a heteroglossic approach to multilingualism (Blackledge and Creese, 2010), in which the multilingual speaker's language varieties are regarded as intertwined and interacting systems across time and space (Bakhtin, 1981; Busch, 2012; Li, 2017). This view contrasts with a monoglossic understanding of bilingualism as the co-existence of separate and well-delimited linguistic codes, also referred to as parallel monolingualism (Heller, 1999:271). The traditional monoglossic theory of bilingualism, which shaped scholarly research for centuries (Flores and Schissel, 2014), regards the bilingual individual as 'two monolingual persons in one' (Grosjean, 1985). Heteroglossia, on the other hand, is a theory of bilingualism as a flexible phenomenon in which 'multiple language practices [are] in interrelationship' (Heller, 2009:7). Therefore, during social interactions, multilingual speakers are able to draw on their unique linguistic repertoires (Gumperz, 1972) to situate themselves within a particular social, interpersonal and political context. In practice, heteroglossia translates into translanguaging through which multilinguals 'bring (...) together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity' (Li, 2011: 1223).

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Participants & Research Sites

Participants in this study are French-English bilingual intermarried families including one or several school-aged children (5 to 17 years old) born in the UK. An anonymous Internet survey was distributed through 22 of the 54 French supplementary schools across the country. This online questionnaire was to be completed by the French parent within these transnational families. The participant selection method implies that most survey respondents, given their attendance at a supplementary school, were interested in maintaining their heritage language within the family to some degree. Considering that a majority of the French nationals in Britain are concentrated in or around London, approximately one third of respondents were located in that area (see Chapter 4 for the participants' socio-demographic profile).

Through the online survey, parents were asked whether they and their families would be willing to take part in face-to-face interviews. Among participants who expressed an interest in discussing their approach to family language policy with the researcher, six families in 3 different areas were invited to take part in interviews.

The original face-to-face contact with the families took place at their respective supplementary schools, all running on a Saturday morning. Individual semi-structured interviews with the French parents, and with the children were conducted on the school premises, either in a private room or in a more public area (café or staff room), according to each participant's preference. A second encounter with the families took place at their homes where the researcher spent some private time with the children as they created language portraits. This was followed by audio-recorded observations of family interactions, either during a meal (four families) or while doing homework (two families).

3.2.2 The Online Survey

Selection of Participants

In order to obtain a satisfactory response rate to the survey, as well as a geographically diverse population sample, the assistance of all 54 French supplementary schools currently existing in the UK was solicited. The management teams of 22 schools responded favourably to the request and distributed the researcher's invitation to complete the online questionnaire to all families attending

their schools. At that point, the internet survey was published and remained available for ten weeks.

For homogeneity purposes, the following participation criteria were set out:

- (1) be a French native speaker living in the UK. *Native speaker* referred to anyone who grew up speaking French as (one of) their first language(s).
- (2) be a parent of a school-age child born in the UK
- (3) have a child who attends a French supplementary school.

202 individuals took part in the survey. 17 responses were discarded as participants did not meet the above-listed criteria. Among the 185 respondents retained, only 21 were in endogamous partnerships (two French-parent families), while 164 were part of intercultural couples, with either a native-English speaker ($n = 132$) or a third-language speaker ($n = 32$). The limited number of endogamous families ($n = 21$), as opposed to intercultural couples ($n = 164$) did not permit a statistically significant comparison of both groups. Since the present research is concerned with FLP and considering the different home linguistic environments of endogamous and exogamous families (De Houwer 2007; 2009), only participants in intercultural relationships were retained for the analysis. Besides, prominent researchers in childhood bilingualism have demonstrated the need to distinguish between ‘Dual Bilingual Language Acquisition’ (DBLA) and ‘Early Bilingual Language Acquisition’ (EBLA) (Genesee and Nicoladis 2006, Meisel 2008, De Houwer 2009). In dual or simultaneous language acquisition, children are generally exposed to the dominant language, in the home, from birth. In the case of early or successive bilinguals, both parents often use a common minority language in the home and the child is socialised in the majority language only when joining a childcare or education system, sometimes as late as the age of four.

Survey Content

The survey contains 30 items (Appendix A). 13 questions were designed to collect socio-demographic data about the respondents and their families. They were followed by 9 items requesting participants to give details of which language every family member spoke to whom, how often, and in which situations. Finally, parents answered 8 questions meant to identify their language beliefs and assess the level of congruence between their reported language ideologies and practices.

Family language practices and beliefs were gauged through both quantitative questions (e.g. *How often do you use English when speaking to your child(ren)?*) and

qualitative questions (e.g. *Please describe which languages each family member tends to speak when you are all together, for instance, at the dinner table*).

In order to assess the coherence of reported language practices, participants were asked several open and closed questions related to the same idea. For instance, the following items were all intended to gauge the French parent's language choices:

Item (13) *How often do you use English when speaking to your child?*

Item (15). *When your child/children speak(s) English to you, in what language do you respond?*

Item (16). *Please describe which languages each family member tends to speak when you are all together (for example, at the dinner table).*

Item (19) *What language(s) do you and your child(ren) use while doing homework?*

Quantitative measures included 11 different statements in two groups dealing with beliefs and practices. Both groups were measured on a five-point Likert-type scale. Practices were presented in terms of frequency (*never, rarely, sometimes, frequently, very frequently*) and beliefs in terms of the level of agreement (*strongly disagree, somewhat disagree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat agree, strongly agree*). Where appropriate, after most quantitative questions, respondents were asked to justify or expand their answers in a comment box, with no word limit.

Analysis of Survey Results

Quantitative data regarding the participants socio-demographic profiles and their reported language practices at home were analysed using descriptive statistics. A large part of the data regarding the respondents' language practices were also described simply using percentages.

Exploratory Factor Analysis (EFA) was conducted to determine the extent to which beliefs and practices were inter-correlated. EFA is generally used to measure the presence of an ability or trait within a population sample (Field, 2009). The purpose of the online survey was to identify patterns of language ideologies and practices and EFA was therefore a suitable statistical method for this purpose. EFA is a data reduction test used to uncover the underlying structure of a relatively large set of variables and to identify relationships between the observed variables (Yong and Pearce, 2013). The logic behind EFA is that variables which correlate with one another tap into the same latent construct. A factor, therefore, refers to a set of variables that have similar response patterns. Exploratory factor analysis can be used

for variables with normal distributions and measured at an interval level, such as that represented by Likert scales (Field, 2009).

The qualitative data generated through the online survey was analysed using thematic analysis, with the help of Nvivo 11 software. The use of thematic analysis is discussed in a subsequent section.

The aim of the online survey was to identify how participants approached bilingual childrearing and to provide key ideas as a basis for the semi-structured interviews. For instance, the level of congruence between language beliefs and language practices reported through the survey suggested that the relationship between both elements should be further investigated, as indeed it was, during the qualitative stage of the study. Additionally, the online survey provided an opportunity to recruit families interested in taking part in case studies. The information given by the respondents allowed the researcher to conduct purposive sampling for the case study research, or in other words, to select a range of families that would reflect the diversity of FLP described in the survey responses.

3.2.3 The Case Studies

Following the online survey, six of the respondents were selected to take part in in-depth case studies. The selection was made in such a way that different approaches to FLP would be explored, as well as to ensure some variety in the geographical locations of the families in question. Considering that the original information about the six families was obtained through the online survey, these case studies can be described as ‘embedded’ case studies as they contain several sub-units of analysis and integrate both quantitative and qualitative data (Yin, 2003). As discussed in section 2.6 of the literature review, whilst quantitative methods are necessary to identify patterns, qualitative methods are essential to gain insight into complex and nuanced phenomena. Multiple case studies were selected as a method for this research for various reasons. First, case studies are an approach that is well-suited to considering the individual views of various family members. Moreover, the in-depth and comprehensive investigation involved in case study research makes it possible to unveil some implicit ideas and motivations that may be invisible to the participants themselves (Okita 2002). Finally, case studies are a suitable approach for comparing contrasting results between the various participating families’ and individuals’ experiences (Yin, 2009).

Case study research methodology depends for its quality on the integration of multiple sources of information to gather rich and comprehensive data and, therefore, contribute to strengthen the validity of the study (Yin, 2003). For this reason, this research employs four qualitative tools for its case studies, including semi-structured face-to-face interviews, email interviews, observations and language portraits. Each of these methods is described below.

Face-to-Face Semi-Structured Interviews with HL Parents (Appendix C)

Each face-to-face interview lasted one hour in average and the total recording time was 7.5 hours. English and French versions of the semi-structured interview were prepared in order to accommodate parents' language choices. The topics covered by the interview questions mirrored the online survey items and were based on the three-component FLP model: language practices, management and ideologies. In the first part of the interview, participants were asked to give details about their families' language practices, including the extent to which family members translanguaged. The second part of the interview focused on parents' management of languages at home and any strategies employed to shape their children's HL use and development. Enquiries about parental expectations of children's proficiency in French were included. Last, participants discussed their beliefs regarding the acquisition and development of two languages in childhood, as well as what it meant to be bilingual. This part of the interview also dealt with parent's motivations for developing the HL within the family. Each French parent's online survey responses were examined so that any apparent discrepancies between reported language beliefs and language practices could be brought to the participant's attention and discussed during the interview.

Being interviewed about a topic as personal and delicate as language, cultural identity and parenting may be a difficult exercise for some parents. In addition, some participants may have feared being judged on their parenting approach whilst others may have felt the need to provide socially desirable responses. In order to promote a relaxed, open and candid discussion, the researcher shared with the participants, some personal concerns and struggle with raising her own children in a multilingual and multicultural family.

Email Interviews with Majority Language Parents (Appendix B)

In order to encourage majority language parents to share their perspectives, interview questions were sent to them via email. This asynchronous interviewing technique was

successful with getting these parents on board and allowed them to reflect on a topic to which they might have given little thought until that point (Opdenakker, 2006). Furthermore, as Opdenakker (2006) pointed out, email interviewees are less likely to provide socially desirable answers than participants in face-to-face interviews. The email interviews contained eight questions designed to aid understanding the majority language parents' attitudes towards bilingualism, their perceived level of involvement in the bilingual childrearing process, as well as their perspectives on the minority-language parent's approach to HL transmission.

Interviews with Children (Appendix D)

The use of semi-structured interviews to collect data from children is somewhat challenging due to its formal and premeditated nature. However, rather than discarding interviewing as a method of research with children, this study attempted to design more child-friendly interviews that would motivate the youngest children to share their thoughts and feelings. To this end, pictures of gender-matched characters were used as stimuli to both engage children and help them visualise the hypothetical interaction context described by the researcher (Frostig and Maslow, 1979) (Appendix E.1). The stimuli consist of a series of nine picture items depicting various scenarios in which a male or female character engages in daily activities and interactions in the public sphere (at school, at the park) and at home. In addition to the pictures, images of positive, neutral and negative facial expressions were made available to children in cases where they struggled to describe their emotions through words (Jean, 2011) (Appendix E.2). Another innovative approach to interviewing children consisted in interviewing siblings together. In 2 of the 6 families, joint interviews were conducted with 2 pairs of siblings in order to make the participants more comfortable and to examine any differences in their perspectives.

The interview questions were organised in two sections. First, children were asked about their daily language choices with different members of the family, during given situations (for example, while doing homework, at the dinner table). The second part of the interview was designed to gauge children's attitudes and thoughts towards the HL and bilingualism, as well as their perspectives on their parents' language management methods. Questions regarding children's language attitudes followed Baker's three-component model (1992) including cognitive elements (*e.g.* the perceived advantages of being bilingual), affective elements (*e.g.* the level of enjoyment when speaking a language or emotional attachment to a language), as well as the individual's readiness for action (*e.g.* refusing to speak a given language).

The use of interviews to investigate bilingual language practices and beliefs poses questions of validity and accuracy of the data, regardless of the participants' age. However, in the particular case of children, it is fair to expect that they are less likely than adults to provide socially acceptable or desirable answers (Schwartz, 2013). Besides, the comparison between interview data and observation data can give an indication of the level of accuracy of children's and parents' reports of their language practices. On the other hand, one must keep in mind that children's beliefs may be influenced by parental ideology and the desire to meet their parents' expectations. For this reason, building a good rapport with the children was an essential part of the interview process. The first encounter with every child started with a casual and playful talk, unrelated to the interview topic, and which lasted about thirty minutes. During this first half-hour, younger children and the researcher discussed their favourite activities and games, while doing some drawing or colouring. Teenagers would chat about their friends, their schools and extra-curricular activities. Since the interviews took place at the children's French supplementary schools, the researcher introduced herself in English in order to distance herself from the authority figures in the school. Besides, speaking English upon meeting the children was meant to avoid any apprehension about performing in their heritage language. After the casual discussion, each child was reminded of the objective of the research project and signed an assent form. At that point, they were asked whether they would rather be interviewed in French or in English. The young participants were also told, on two occasions, that they were free to speak English, or French and to switch or mix the two varieties at any point during the conversation. All interviews with children were audio-recorded and provided 5 hours of data.

Children's Language Portraits

As discussed in section 2.6 of the literature review, language portraits have recently been used by a few Austrian linguistic and educational scholars (Busch, 2006; Krumm, 2005), among others, as a creative research tool to help children speak about their bilingual experiences. This method is in accordance with the suggestion by some researchers in early childhood development to 'slow down the adult's journey to deciding upon meaning' (Cook and Hess, 2007:42). The use of language portraits is also in agreement with a heteroglossic understanding of multilingualism, in which this study positions itself (see section 3.1 Research Approach). This method allows bilingual speakers to describe how their various linguistic varieties interact across time and space (Bakhtin, 1981; Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Busch, 2012; Li, 2017).

Language portraits go hand in hand with the concept of ‘linguistic repertoire’ defined by Jan Blommaert (2010) as the complex linguistic resources that people possess and make use of in a given communication situation, and which ‘reflects the fragmented and highly diverse life-trajectories and environments’ (Blommaert, 2010:8).

Language portraits were used in this study to gain insights into each child’s unique interplay between bilingualism, family and cultural identity. The young participants completed their language portraits during a second encounter, at their home. Each child was provided with a printed body silhouette and was given the following instructions, as suggested by Busch (2018):

This is your body. Think of all the languages present in your life.
Pick a colour for each of these languages. Through your colouring
and drawing, you can show:
How you experience these languages every day.
What these languages mean to you.
You can think of the different situations or people with whom you
speak.
You cannot do anything right or wrong when drawing.
You can take all the time you want.
You can add captions or just explain what you did.

Children described and explained their language portraits verbally, including the choice of colours, symbols, captions and the use of space. The researcher asked for additional details where necessary. The young participants’ descriptions were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Additionally, thematic analysis of the children’s comments was carried out in order to identify common themes among the various language portraits.

Observation of Family Interaction

Finally, observations were conducted in the family home to further explore their language practices and management. Not only does observational research allow for a comparison between reported and observed practices, but it may also reveal some group dynamics that may not be apparent through participants’ accounts. Besides, observational data is less likely to be affected by people’s ideologies than interview data (Hakuta and D'Andrea, 1992). All interactions were audio recorded and transcribed verbatim. Since video recording of family interactions would have been intrusive and quite possibly distorting, the researcher took notes during the observations and documented any interesting non-verbal behaviour, including eye contact and tone of voice. As a research participant, the thought of being observed within the personal and intimate environment of one’s home may be uncomfortable

and unpleasing. This is why the researcher requested that she observe family interactions at the end of each interview with the parents, once a rapport had been built. Moreover, participants could opt for one of two scenarios, depending on which was more comfortable for all family members: either being observed during a family meal, or while doing homework with the children. Mealtime was selected as a context for the study of bilingual family interactions because it is a moment when most middle-class families gather around the dinner table and share their daily experiences. Blum-Kulka's (1997) extensive work on family dinner conversations shows that mealtimes constitute important sites of language socialisation in which parents socialise children into 'local cultural practices regulating conversation, such as the choice of topics, rules of turn taking, modes of storytelling, rules of politeness, and choice of language' (Blum-Kulka and Snow, 2002). In addition, observing family interactions at the dinner table may highlight the different language patterns and choices among the various family members. The context of homework was proposed to participants who were reluctant to be observed during a family dinner. Many online respondents indicated that doing English schoolwork in the HL was a challenge. As with family meals, homework time can involve interesting language choices from various family members, however it is a less intimate context. In all cases the observer was present in the room, with the family, at a distance which would allow her to observe and record, while causing minimum disruption to the ongoing conversations (De Houwer and Bornstein, 2016). Whilst, at first, participants may have felt self-conscious due to the presence of the researcher, the mundane and familiar nature of the selected interactional contexts (homework and dinner time) was helpful for families to rapidly fall back into their habitual interactional and language practices.

3.3 Data Analysis Methods

Online qualitative responses, interviews, and language portrait descriptions were transcribed verbatim, including repetitions and pauses, through the CLAN software and according to CHAT (Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts, <https://osf.io/zqb6c/wiki/home/>) transcription conventions. Original participants' quotes in French were translated into English by the researcher and reviewed by a second French-English bilingual speaker.

Thematic Analysis was used as the main data analysis method in this research and was conducted via the software Nvivo 11. Additionally, the three-component FLP model was also used as an analytical framework to simply identify and describe

each of the six families' language practices, management and ideologies. Finally, some elements of Conversation Analysis were helpful in analysing and reporting the observed family interactions. The various analytical methods are described in the next paragraphs.

3.3.1 Thematic Analysis

Thematic Analysis (TA) is a method for identifying, organising, describing and interpreting patterns within a data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006). Unlike other qualitative data analysis methods, TA is not attached to any particular theory or epistemology. Therefore, and as Braun and Clarke (2006: 81) point out, TA can be applied to various paradigmatic approaches, or it can also be a 'contextualist' analytical tool, suitable for a pragmatic research design, as is the case in this study.

Braun and Clarke (2006) distinguish between theoretical TA and Inductive TA. In theoretical TA, the researcher codes the data into an existing frame or to answer a particular research question. Inductive TA, on the other hand, is a data-driven or bottom-up approach to the method. In this research, theoretical TA was used for the online survey qualitative data since each of the parents' comments was produced in response to a specific question. As for the semi-structured interviews, both theoretical and inductive TA were employed, in turn. First, theoretical TA was used within the FLP framework in order to identify the language practices, management and ideologies of each of the six families and provide a first holistic view of the FLP within each family. This first analytical stage provided a rich and detailed account of the participants' FLP. Thus, the French parent's interview, the British parent's email questionnaire responses and the child(ren)'s interview were analysed together, as one family data set, in which any code related to one of the three FLP components was identified and reported accordingly in the case study reports (see Appendix F.1 for an example of theoretical TA).

TA was then conducted a second time, however, from an inductive perspective, in order to gain a deeper understanding of the experiences and underlying challenges of family members. Cross-analysis of all parents and children's data was performed in order to identify codes, and subsequently, themes, independently of the research questions. While inductive TA is not dependent on a specific theoretical perspective, it should, nonetheless, be conducted as a rigorous and consistent analytical method, in order to ensure the credibility of the findings. TA, in this study, was carried out following Braun and Clarke's (2006; 2013) six-

phase framework: ‘become familiar with the data, generate initial codes, search for themes, review themes, define themes and write-up’ (see Appendix F.2 for examples of Inductive TA in this study). This framework for doing TA analysis remains flexible in the sense that the various phases are not linear, and one may move back and forth between them (Maguire and Delahunt, 2017). Besides, not only can the researcher determine themes, he or she also establishes what constitutes prevalence. For this reason, it is essential to remain consistent in how the importance of a theme is determined. In this research, a theme was described as prevalent based on the number of participants who articulated it. Given the small sample used for the case studies, a theme had to have been raised by at least three informants (parents or children), to be considered as prevalent.

In order to further ensure the validity of the derived themes, examples of data were provided to two external academics who verified that interpretations remained close to the data. Besides, although the present data analysis only applied to the participants in this study, a detailed account of the methodology, as well as examples of the TA coding process are provided for readers to make a judgement on the transferability of the findings.

3.3.2 Analysis of Observed Family Interactions

The FLP framework was applied to the observed and audio recorded family conversations in order to gauge participants’ language practices, parental language management techniques, as well as children’s responses or reactions to such techniques. The observed conversations were transcribed verbatim and field notes provided additional information on how non-verbal communication was used to implement parental language strategies (for instance, body positioning signalling change of language and interlocutor). Additionally, observations were analysed by looking at turn-taking sequences, meta-linguistic comments and how interlocutor responded to each other (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 2008).

3.4 Role of the Researcher

Many researchers in bilingualism and FLP are themselves concerned with experiences involving geographical mobility, multilingualism or may even have multicultural families of their own. These experiences influence their theoretical

approach to bilingualism and to what it means to ‘transmit’ one’s ‘native’ language. It is, therefore, essential for researchers to reflect on and share their personal connection to the research topic, as well as any similarities with the histories of the study participants. As a French native speaker who moved to the UK in early adulthood and a parent of two French-English bilingual children, the investigator in this research shares some cultural and linguistic characteristics with the participating parents. This common cultural background may have influenced participants into providing responses that would be expected by a ‘fellow’ French parent. In order to minimise any potential pressure participants may have experienced, the researcher shared personal struggle and anecdotes about raising her children within a multilingual and multicultural household. Moreover, parents may have viewed the researcher as an expert (Atkinson, 2007) and may have feared being judged on their parenting methods. For instance, they may have thought that their children’s level of fluency in French was a reflection of good or bad parenting on their part. This is why the interviewer made clear to all participants that the purpose of the research was not to assess the children’s proficiency in the HL or the efficiency of the parents’ language management techniques. Instead, the researcher explained that the study was meant to understand individuals’ experiences of both growing up with two languages and raising children bilingually. Additionally, the researcher and observer avoided making comments on families’ language use during the interviews and observations. Besides, children were never praised nor criticised for their levels of heritage language proficiency. That being said, the researcher’s position as an insider also provided some methodological advantages. As participants regarded the interviewer as *one of them*, they felt comfortable being critical towards the host culture or the HL community, which provided the researcher with an emic perspective on their transnational experiences (Copland and Creese, 2015). At the same time, the variety of personal histories created enough distance for the researcher to interpret every experience as unique.

As regards the participating children, it was essential for the interviewer to build rapport and trust so that they would express their thoughts and feelings freely. To this end, the investigator endeavoured to distance herself from both parental authority and the supplementary school teachers by introducing herself in English and engaging in playful talks. Whilst the researcher can empathise with the challenges of bilingual childrearing, her own experience as a heritage speaker was helpful in investigating how children construct their identity through the various languages and cultures they are exposed to (see introduction).

3.5 Ethical Considerations

Doing research with human participants involves respecting a number of principles of ethical conduct. In the present study, two main ethical considerations were central to the data collection process: protecting the privacy and anonymity of participants and ensuring that informed consent had been provided by every party, including the supplementary schools, the parents and the children. In order to adhere to strict ethical standards, the researcher followed the Open University's Human Research Ethics Committee's guidelines for data collection and processing.

First, and before launching the online survey, it was essential to seek consent from French supplementary schools as the first gatekeepers. An information letter was sent to the schools' management teams, presenting the research project and soliciting their assistance in reaching out to families in their respective schools. 22 schools provided written consent for the distribution of the researcher's letter of information to parents, and for interviews to take place on school premises, during lesson hours. The letter sent to parents through the supplementary schools was an invitation to French parents to take part in an anonymous online survey regarding their family language practices and their beliefs about raising children bilingually. Although it was not possible, at that time, to describe exactly the direction the study might take, participants were informed of the nature of the study, to the extent possible (Padgett, 2012). The information letter to parents clearly stated that the participation was optional, confidential and anonymous. The online questionnaire offered parents the possibility for families, including partner and children, to take part in interviews. Participants who were interested in doing so provided an email address and the name of their French school.

Families who were selected for interviews were sent a new letter of information by email, addressed to parents, and detailing the purpose of the research

as well as the interview process. Additionally, a simplified information letter was enclosed in the parents' email for the attention of the children. Parents were asked to consent to their and their children's participation, before the researcher met them in person. The consent form stated that the data would remain confidential and that participants could withdraw their participation at any point.

The presence of minor participants in this research made it essential to ensure that every child provided informed consent. One of the researcher's main concerns was that no child should feel pressured by parents or by the school, into participating. Given the limited level of literacy of the youngest participants (6 years old), and to ensure that they did not feel coerced into participating, a verbal explanation of the research purpose and process was provided to every child, before the interview, in the sole presence of the researcher. Participants who were minors were then asked whether they agreed to take part and signed a consent form whose wording was suitable to their age. In addition, before and during the interview, the researcher let the children know that they were free to stop the discussion at any point.

Another consideration in this research was the level of intrusiveness perceived by participants. In order for this research to remain a positive experience, the time and location of the interviews were made convenient to both parents and children. The first encounter with each participant took place in the familiar context of their respective supplementary school. Observations at the families' home occurred subsequently, once rapport had been built with both parents and children.

Last but not least, some important ethical reflection concerned the possible ways in which participants could benefit from this research. The participants' willingness to share their personal experiences suggested that they appreciated the opportunity to discuss an essential aspect of their family lives. In order for these families to further benefit from this study and see the results of the research they took part in, the decision was taken to provide a summary of the key findings to each of the families and supplementary schools involved.

Chapter 4: The Online Survey

This chapter is dedicated to the findings of the online survey. In the first section, the respondents' socio-demographic profile is described. This is followed by a statistical analysis of the results.

4.1 Respondents' Socio-Demographic Profile

Respondents from various parts of the country took part in the survey. The majority were based in the South East of England, which reflects the high concentration of French nationals in this area, according to the Office for National Statistics (2017; Chapter1: Research Context).

<i>Location</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>
<i>London</i>	49
<i>Buckinghamshire</i>	31
<i>Surrey</i>	20
<i>Birmingham</i>	16
<i>Canterbury</i>	11
<i>Colchester</i>	7
<i>Newcastle</i>	3
<i>Belfast</i>	2
<i>Glasgow</i>	2
<i>Brighton</i>	2
<i>Manchester</i>	1
<i>Amersham</i>	1
<i>Ilford</i>	1
<i>Exeter</i>	1
<i>Camberley</i>	1
<i>No data</i>	16

Table 1: Respondents' geographical location (n = 164)

The respondents were predominantly female (86%, $n = 140$), reflecting the fact that mothers still remain the primary caregivers (Tannen, 2003) and have traditionally been responsible for socialising children and transmitting the minority language

(Labov, 1994). As reported in the research literature, this is also the case for interlingual families (linguistically exogamous couples) in heritage language studies (Okita, 2002, Potowski, 2011). As Guardado (2017) points out, in families where parents do not share a common minority language, an additional level of complexity is created by the variety of linguistic heritage. Gender is, therefore, a significant aspect of FLP research given that it shapes the way cultures and societies expect family units to function, which in turn, influences the childrearing dynamics and FLP. Consequently, it is reasonable to expect a gender-based distribution of power in family language decision-making, despite the increasing involvement of fathers in caregiving duties (Thompson, 1991 in Guardado, 2017). Whilst the issue of gender in FLP is beyond the scope of this research, it is important to mention that the population in this study seems to reflect the traditional family configuration in which mothers are the main caregivers and language socialisers.

Both the average and the median age of participants was 42 years old, and the average length of their residency in the UK was 17 years. These figures indicate that the average participant in this study had settled in the UK in a long-term perspective. 64% of respondents had 2 children (see Figure 1 below) and the average age of the children was 8.2 years old.

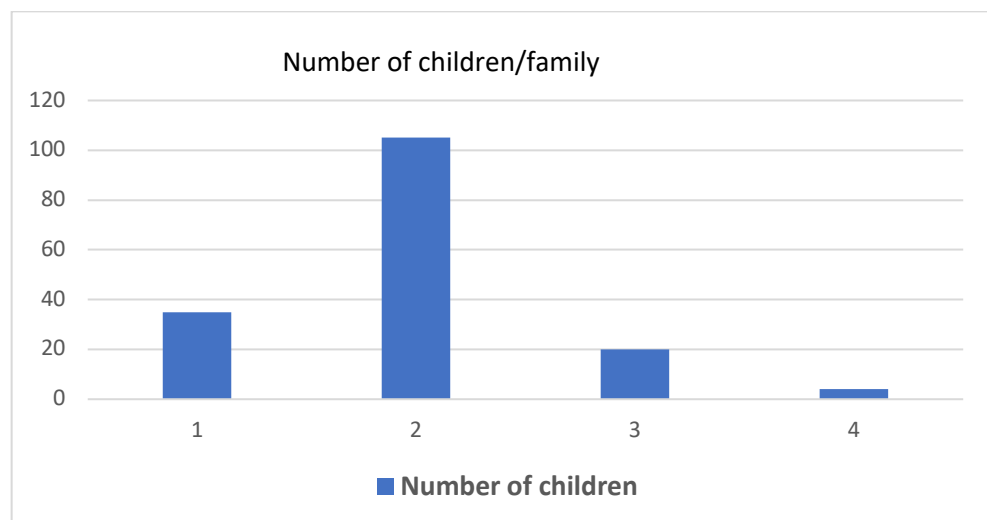


Figure 1. Online respondents' number of children.

The vast majority of survey participants had a high level of education, with 82% having completed a higher education degree.

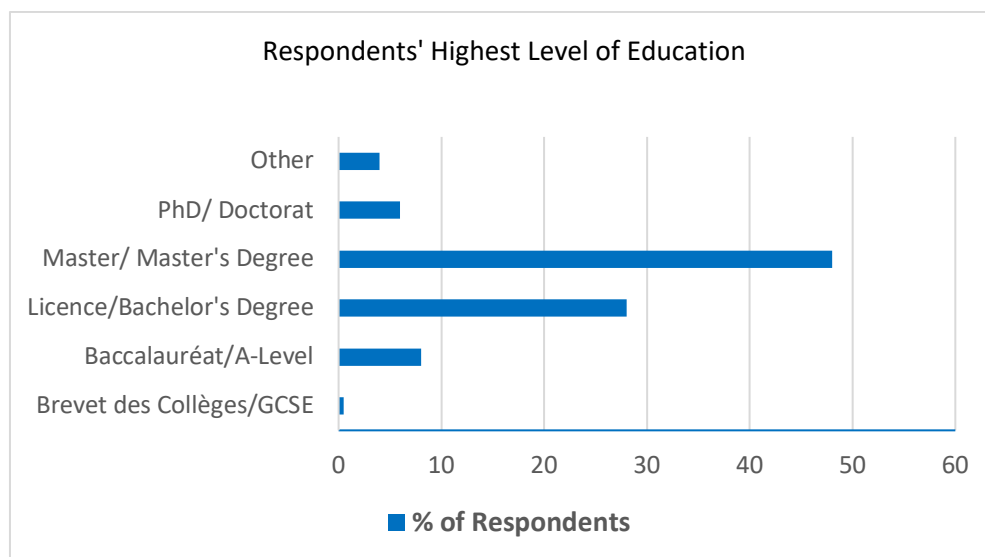


Figure 2: Respondents' highest level of education

85% of respondents held professional occupations (for example, in healthcare, education or the law), associate professional occupations (for example, science and engineering technicians and nurses) or worked in middle or senior management (for example, marketing and sales managers, financial institution and office managers). Judging by its socio-demographic make-up, the participant sample in this research is representative of French nationals living in the UK (see Chapter 1: Research context).

Families' Linguistic Profile

An overwhelming majority of respondents reported having a high command of English: 37% rated their level of English as *advanced* and 59% reported having *native-like* proficiency. Among the 42% ($n = 69$) who reported speaking another language than French and English, 88% spoke one of the European languages traditionally taught in French secondary education (German, Spanish and Italian). 54% of participants reported that the other parent did not speak any other languages than English, 29% stated that their spouse or partner spoke French, and 19% listed a third language other than French and English (see Figure 3 below).

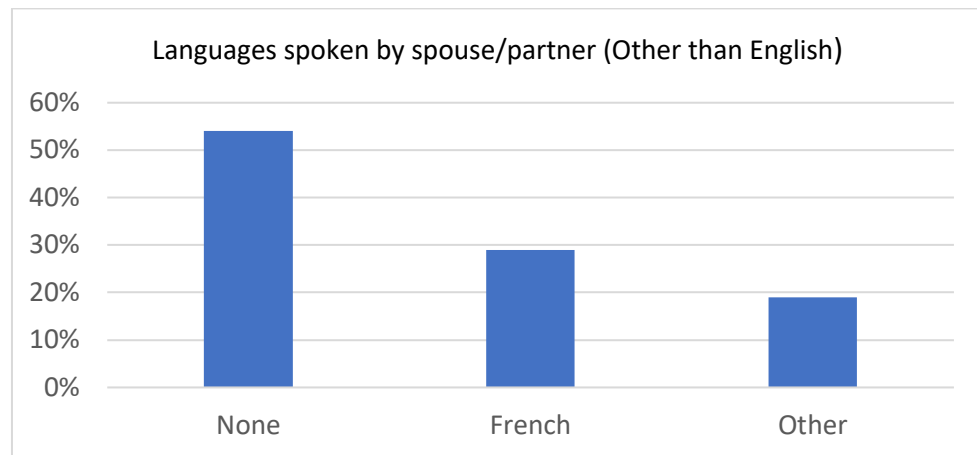


Figure 3. Languages (other than English) spoken by respondent's spouse/partner

79% of respondents ($n = 130$) reported that their child(ren) did not speak any other languages than English and French, and 19% ($n = 32$) stated that their child(ren) spoke a third language (missing data from 2 participants). These results suggest that in the 32 families in which both parents were transnationals, children were being exposed to a second minority language, in addition to French.

4.2 Online Survey Analysis & Discussion

A. Exploratory Factor Analysis

Exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was conducted to determine the extent to which beliefs and practices were intercorrelated. Out of the 13 survey questions related to the participants' language beliefs and practices, 10 were measured on a five-point Likert scale. These 10 items were subjected to the EFA using SPSS 24. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy (.669) and Bartlett's test of sphericity (404.317, d.f. = 45, $p > .01$) indicated that factor analysis was appropriate for these data. The relationship of each variable to the underlying factor is expressed by the so-called factor loading. A significant factor load must be equal or superior to 0.4. Variables which significantly load onto the same factor are, therefore, correlated. The rotated component matrix below shows the correlation between observed variables as well as factor loadings for each item. Factor loadings less than 0.4 are not displayed and variables are listed in the order of size of their factor loadings

Table 2. Rotated Component Matrix

Belief/ practice	Variables	Component		
		1	2	3
P	12. How often do you use English when speaking to your child?	0.785		
P	14. When your child/children speak(s) English to you, in what language do you respond?	0.776		
B	24. Speaking only French to my child will help him/her maintain his/her French.	0.642		
B	25. I expect my child's French to be as good as his/her English.	0.554		
P	16. Do you mix French & English when speaking to your child(ren)? (ex. "Prends ta lunch box")?		0.798	
P	17. Do you mix French & English when speaking to bilingual friends or colleagues?		0.812	
B	23. It is natural for bilinguals to mix languages in a conversation.		0.674	
P	13. How often do your children speak French to you?			0.706
B	27. My child(ren)'s level of French has met my expectations so far.			0.819

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.
Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.
Rotation converged in 9 iterations.

EFA produced a three-factor solution (Eigenvalues greater than 1), which accounted for 58.3% of total variance. Factor 1 contains four items; Factor 2 contains three and Factor 3 contains two items. Factor 2 originally contained a fourth item (survey item 27. 'Real bilinguals speak both languages at the same level') which was removed from the EFA as its lower factor loading (0.4) reduced the reliability and internal cohesion of the factor. This might be due to the wordings used in this item and the respondents' interpretation of the term 'real'.

Cronbach's alpha was calculated for the three factors to measure internal reliability. Reliability for factors one, two and three was .67, .72 and .61 respectively, indicating acceptable internal reliability.

The last step in EFA is to look at the content of questions that load onto the same factor and to identify themes (Field, 2009). For instance, the items that load highly on factor 1 seem to all relate to language consistency and proficiency

expectations (see rotated component matrix above). Descriptive data for the emergent factors is included in Table 3 below.

Factor	Name	N of items	N	Mean (pooled)	SD	SE	Cronbach's α
1	Level of parental consistency in language use and consequent proficiency expectations	4	164	2.91	0.67	0.5	0.67
2	Practices & Beliefs about translanguageing & the bilingual mind	3	164	3.01	0.66	0.5	0.72
3	Child's frequency of use of French & parent's satisfaction with child's proficiency	2	164	2.7	0.63	0.5	0.61

Table 3. Factor analysis

Factor 1: Level of Parental Consistency in Language Choice and Consequent HL Proficiency Expectations.

Correlation between items 13, 15, 25 and 26 indicates that the amount of French used by parents and their level of consistency in language use is linked to their belief in speaking exclusively French for optimum HL learning. This factor reflects the idea that consistency in language use is a prerequisite for minority language acquisition (Gafaranga, 2010; Yates and Terraschke, 2013; Smith-Christmas, 2016). The logic behind this assertion is the optimisation of minority language input. The popular one parent-one language (OPOL) method (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004) is based on the concept of language use consistency and is widely implemented by participants in this research (42% reported using French exclusively, while their non-French partner would use English or a third language). The fourth item loaded on factor 1 (*"I expect my child's French to be as good as his/her English"*), indicates that there is a relation between frequency and consistency of HL input and parental expectations of their child's HL proficiency. This result supports the notion of 'impact belief' introduced by De Houwer (1999) which describes the extent to which parents feel capable of and responsible for developing their children's bilingualism (see Chapter 2: Literature Review). In this research, and similarly to the Chinese parents in Curdt-

Christiansen's (2009) study, French parents' expectations and aspirations with regard to the children's multilingual development inform the family language policy (FLP).

Factor 2: Translanguaging Practices & Beliefs.

The second latent construct concerned participants' approach to translanguaging and bilingual language acquisition (see items 17, 18 and 24). The extent to which parents took part in translanguaging practices with their children and with bilingual adults was correlated with whether or not they considered translanguaging a natural phenomenon. Reported parental beliefs and consequent practices reflected the two competing approaches to multilingualism. Parents with a traditional, monoglossic perspective may view code-mixing as an improper use of language or a sign of confusion (Flores and Schissel, 2014). Such beliefs may lead parents to avoid translanguaging and encourage their children to speak French "properly". On the contrary, parents who perceive translanguaging as natural may tend to practice code-mixing more frequently.

Factor 3: Frequency of Children's HL Use & Level of Parental Satisfaction.

The third factor relates to how frequently children addressed their parents in French and how satisfied parents were with their child(ren)'s HL proficiency. This result indicated that the parental level of satisfaction was linked to the children's oral productive skills in French.

B. Reported Family Language Practices & Language Management

Reported family language practices are summarised in Table 4 below.

<i>Number of item/statements</i>	<i>Very often/ often</i>	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Rarely/ never</i>	<i>No Data</i>
(1) How often do you use English when speaking to your child?	36%	22%	42%	
(2) How often do your children speak French to you?	42%	22%	36%	
(3) Do you mix French & English when speaking to your child(ren)? (ex. "Prends ta lunch box")?	26%	37%	37%	
(4) Do you mix French & English when speaking to bilingual friends or colleagues?	35%	38%	27%	
	<i>Always/ mostly in French</i>	<i>Sometimes in French/someti mes in English</i>	<i>Always/ mostly in English</i>	
(5) When your child/children speak(s) English to you, in what language do you respond?	57%	26%	12%	2%
	<i>French</i>	<i>French & English</i>	<i>English</i>	
(6) What language(s) do you and your child(ren) use while doing homework?	13%	24%	62%	1%
(7) What languages do you speak to your child(ren) in presence of English speakers?	35%	20%	45%	
<i>Table 4: Family language practices in percentages (n = 164)</i>				

Participants' responses highlighted two main patterns of parental language management and consequent family language practices: the nearly exclusive and consistent use of the minority language by the French parent or OPOL method (42% of respondents); and the frequent use of English and translanguaging by the French parent (36%). Responses to item number 5 (*When your child/children speak(s) English to you, in what language do you respond?*) confirmed these two patterns. 57% of respondents reported always responding in French when their children addressed them in English, while the rest of responses ranged between *sometimes in French* and *mostly/always in English*. These results were also reflected in the qualitative data provided by the participants to describe the languages spoken at the family dinner table (see item 15- '*Please describe which language each family member tends to speak when you are all together. for example, at the dinner table*'). 51% ($n = 85$) reported speaking French only to their child(ren) during family meals involving the non-French parent. Figure 4 below describes the most commonly cited scenario.

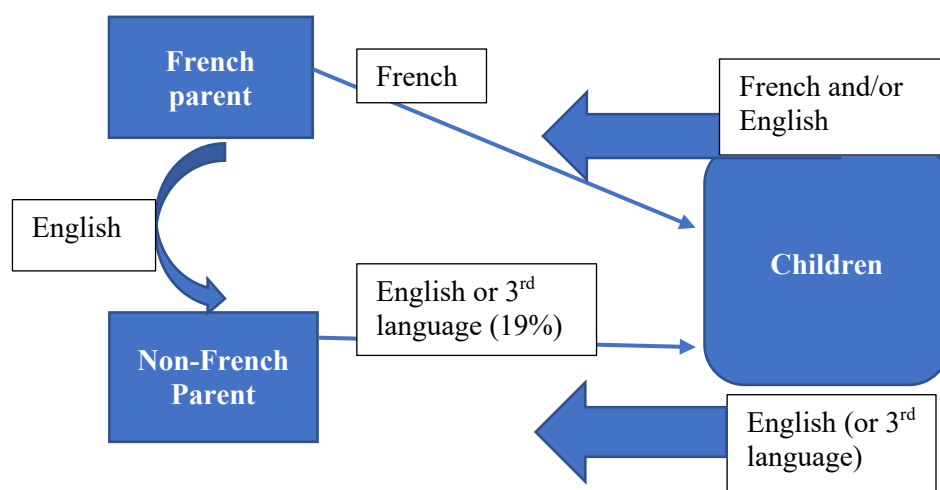


Figure 4. Reported Family Language Use at the Dinner Table (51% of Respondents)

Some of the participants' reported having 'dual-lingual' family conversations (Saville- Troike, 1987; Smith-Christmas, 2016), also referred to as 'parallel mode' interactions (Gafaranga, 2010). In such conversations, the French parent speaks his/her native language while the rest of the family responds in English, without disrupting the flow of conversation. It is worth noting that 8% of the respondents who

reported *never* or *rarely* speaking the majority language, declared that they spoke English during family dinners.

48% of respondents ($n = 79$) reported speaking English to their children at the dinner table, in the presence of the non-French parent. Among these participants, all previously declared *occasionally* or *frequently* addressing their children in English, which indicates a certain level of coherence in their responses. Over half of the parents who declared using English only, during family meals, explained that they did so out of consideration for the non-French parent.

Although two clear patterns of language practice and management emerged from the first survey items, responses to questions 6 and 7 revealed some degree of inconsistency in the reported practices of parents who claimed to be implementing a strict OPOL. While 42% of respondents declared *never* or *rarely* speaking English to their children, 62% reported doing school homework exclusively in English or with a mix of French and English. Besides, some parents who reported adopting a rigorous separation of languages (42%) stated that they addressed their children in English, in presence of non-French speakers. Only 35% of participants said that they spoke French to their children within a group involving non-French speakers. Although these discrepancies concern a limited percentage of responses, they still suggest that the strict avoidance of the majority language is difficult to implement in practice. In reality, the OPOL includes, in many families, the use of English in specific contexts such as doing homework or accommodating non-French interlocutors during social interactions. 37% of parents reported *never* or *rarely* code-mixing, while 26% of participants declared code-mixing (*very*) *frequently* and 37% code-mixing *occasionally*. 5% of the parents who declared *never* or *rarely* using English with their children, also reported code-mix *occasionally* or *frequently*. This remains a small percentage, but it confirms that strict avoidance of the majority language is challenging in practice, or that to some participants, code-mixing does not constitute using English.

C. *Reported Children's practices.*

Answers to item 14 (*Please describe situations in which your child speaks French to you*), also produced two main patterns: 36% of participants reported that their child(ren) *rarely* or *never* spoke French to them, while 42% responded that they did so *frequently* or *very frequently*. Between these two extremes, 23% ($n = 38$) of respondents *occasionally* hear their children speak French to them. It is common knowledge among FLP researchers that gauging bilingual language practices is a

difficult exercise (Byers-Heinlein, 2015). Given that the frequency term *occasionally* is particularly ambiguous, respondents were asked to give examples of situations in which their child(ren) spoke the HL. Their qualitative responses were quantified and revealed that 68% of parents who used the term *occasionally* referred essentially to their offspring speaking French when visiting relatives in France. Considering that these children were schooled in England, and although there is no data on how much time the family spent in France, the result suggests that these children's regular use of the HL was sparse. According to the other 22% of parents who responded *occasionally* in French, they explained that their young ones' use of the HL consisted of short and elementary answers such as 'oui maman' (*yes mum*), 'non' (*no*), 'j'sais pas' (*I dunno*), 'merci' (*thank you*) or 'd'accord' (*OK*). Although these expressions were used regularly, they remained a simple and mechanical use of the language. In both cases, the term *occasionally* appeared to refer to a limited amount of oral production in the HL, which is similar to the one described by parents who declared that their children *rarely* or *never* spoke the HL.

Item 14- Please describe situations in which your child speaks French to you.		
<i>(Very)Frequently 42%</i>	<i>Occasionally 23%</i>	<i>Rarely or Never 36%</i>
Examples of situations provided by participants		
<p>Ex. ‘All activities at home are done in French, mealtime, TV, stories, holiday, recreational activities etc...’</p> <p>‘Any conversation’</p> <p>‘When addressing me wherever we are.’</p> <p>Everyday general conversation.</p>	<p>Ex. ‘In France when she really wants something.’</p> <p>‘Short standard replies such as “j’sais pas”, “on y va”.’</p> <p>‘Maman: Brosse toi les dents. C : Oui maman. Maman: On part dans 5 minutes. C: D'accord maman. C: Je suis fatigué!’</p> <p>‘When their French grandparents are visiting us in England or when on holiday in France.’</p>	<p>Ex. ‘Only when they speak to me or members of my family in France.’</p> <p>‘When I ask them to and even then, it is not always forth-coming.’</p> <p>‘In France when they do not have a choice.’</p> <p>‘With their grandparents/French relatives.’</p> <p>‘In short sentences to me, usually as a response to a question or to ask something simple.’</p>

Table 5. Examples of situations where children speak French.

D. Reported HL Parent’s Use of English Compared to Reported Child(ren)’s Use of the HL.

Of the 42% ($n = 69$) parents who reported *rarely* or *never* speaking English to their child(ren), 75% reported that their children *frequently* or *very frequently* used French, while the other 25% *stated that they rarely* or only *occasionally* heard their young ones speak French. The data thus indicates that the exclusive use of the HL by the minority-language parent does not always guarantee the use of the HL by the child(ren). These results closely match the findings in De Houwer’s (2007) large-scale study ($n = 1,899$) of bilingual language development in Belgium. According to

De Houwer, in families where only one of the parents speaks the minority language exclusively, one quarter of the children do not become bilingual. However, in this research, based on respondents' accounts of their family language practices, there still seems to be a correlation between the frequency with which the HL parent uses English and the amount of French spoken by the child(ren). Table 6 below shows that only 32% of parents who declared that they *frequently* translanguaged also reported a frequent use of French by their child(ren). Nevertheless, *occasional* translanguaging did not seem to greatly affect the amount of HL spoken by the children since 62% of parents who occasionally spoke English to their children declared that their offspring spoke French *frequently/very frequently*.

<i>How often do you speak English to your child?</i>	<i>How often does your child speak French to you?</i>	%
Rarely/ Never (42% of respondents)	Rarely/ Never	15%
	Occasionally	10%
	Frequently/ Very Frequently	75%
Occasionally (22% of respondents)	Rarely/ Never	12%
	Occasionally	26%
	Frequently/ Very Frequently	62%
(Very) Frequently/ (36% of respondents)	Rarely/ Never	26%
	Occasionally	42%
	Frequently/ Very Frequently	32%

Table 6: French parents' use of English & Children's use of French

E. Parental Ideologies

Parental motivations for maintaining & developing the minority language

The parental motivating factors for encouraging the development of the minority language were identified and summarised in figure 5 below.

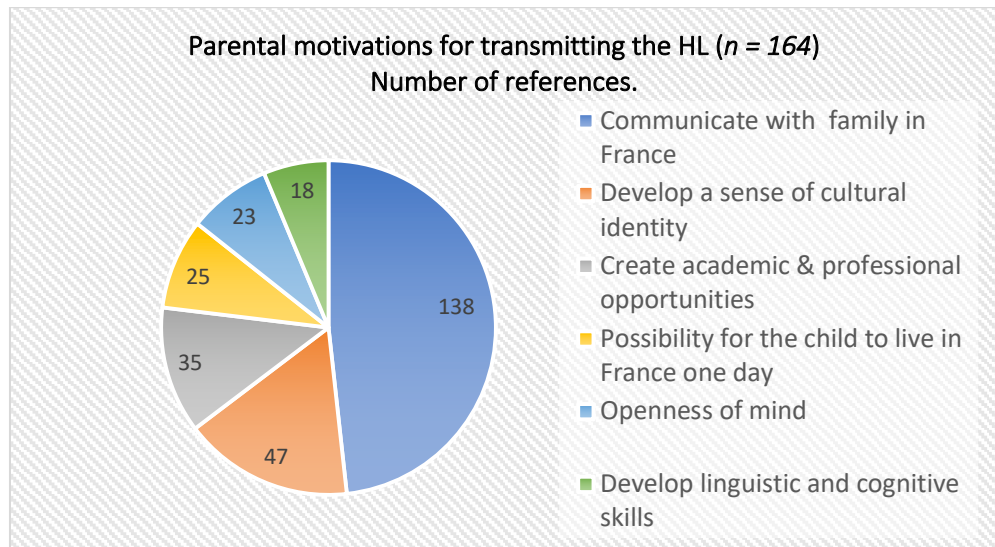


Figure 5: Parental motivations for transmitting the heritage language. (Qualitative Item 23 - Why do you want your child to develop or maintain his/her French?)

An overwhelming majority of participants justified their effort to develop their children's HL by the necessity of building relationships with their extended family in France. Bonding with grandparents and cousins, in particular, was described as an essential, if not the main source of motivation for transmitting French to their children (138 references). Many respondents explained that their relatives in the homeland did not speak English, which made French the only possible medium of communication to maintain a transnational connection.

‘Her cousins/extended family on my side all live in France and we go to visit them very often. If she didn't speak French, how would they communicate?!’

‘the rest of the family in France does not speak English.’

‘It is essential that she can continue to communicate with her Family in France.’

‘Mainly because their grandparents only speak French.’

With 96% of respondents reporting speaking ‘advanced’ or ‘native-like’ English, it seems that most of them did not have a practical necessity to maintain the HL in their day-to-day lives, unlike parents in other linguistic communities where one or both caregivers may not speak the majority language. However, whilst most French parents in the UK have a good command of English, there is still an important emotional need to maintain contact with the non-English speaking family in their homeland. This result speaks against the idea that elite bilingualism is a rationally pursued and calculated choice (Piller, 2001). The primary motivations for HL maintenance appear to be similar across the socio-economic spectrum, since most families, regardless of their socio-demographic background, do feel the need to nourish intergenerational family bonds (Ferguson, 2013; Melo-Pfeifer, 2015; Nesteruk, 2010).

The second most cited reason for maintaining French in the family is for the children to identify with the heritage culture. This is an important motivating factor (47 references) that is similar to those mentioned in many studies on both prestige and non-prestige linguistic communities (Lee and Suarez, 2005; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Nesteruk, 2010; Ferguson, 2013). The notion of the children being ‘half French’ and the need to therefore develop ‘cultural links’ with their heritage culture were prominent ideas among survey respondents.

Nevertheless, a few less significant sources of parental motivation did reflect the prestige status of French as a minority language. 35 respondents referred to the academic and professional opportunities created by French-English bilingualism. Many parents perceived HL proficiency as a valuable asset in education, as their children could ‘get an easy grade in their GCSE [exam]’ or at a professional level, since they could ‘work with French-speaking markets’. Another important theme identified among participants is the opportunity for children ‘to study or live in France’ in their adult life (25 references). Unlike other immigrant communities who moved to the UK to provide their offspring with better education and living conditions, many French parents welcome the idea of their children moving to France for educational or professional prospects. Last, two other sources of motivation for HL transmission were cited, albeit less frequently, namely developing a child’s open mindedness and improving his or her cognitive and linguistic skills.

Beliefs about bilingual language acquisition.

The survey items concerning parental ideologies were designed to identify beliefs about bilingual language acquisition as well as gauging the degree of consistency between reported language beliefs and practices. Table 7 below summarises respondents' reported language ideologies.

<i>Number of item/statements</i>	<i>Somewhat agree/ strongly agree</i>		<i>No opinion</i>		<i>Somewhat disagree/ strongly disagree</i>	
(1) It is natural for bilinguals to mix languages in a conversation.	106	65%	24	14%	34	21%
(2) Speaking only French to my child will help him/her maintain his/her French.	151	92%	8	4%	5	3%
(3) I expect my child's French to be as good as his/her English.	66	40%	23	14%	75	46%
(4) Real bilinguals speak both languages at the same level.	85	52%	20	11%	61	37%
(5) My child(ren)'s level of French has met my expectations so far.	98	60%	22	13%	44	27%
(6) My child(ren) enjoy(s) speaking French.	110	67%	29	18%	25	15%
<i>Table 7: Parental Language Ideologies</i>						

Beliefs about translanguaging

Item (1) asked participants to express their views on whether it was natural for bilinguals to mix languages in a conversation. In this question, the term *natural* was meant as both *instinctive* and *normal*. In anticipation of the possibility that respondents might interpret the question differently, they were asked to justify their answers in a comment box. The qualitative data provided by the participants indicated that the term *natural* was understood as *acceptable* and/or *beneficial* and was often associated with a positive connotation. The results show that a significant majority of parents (65%, $n = 106$) believed that it was natural for bilinguals to translanguage. Parents who described translanguaging practices as natural provided the following justifications for their answers:

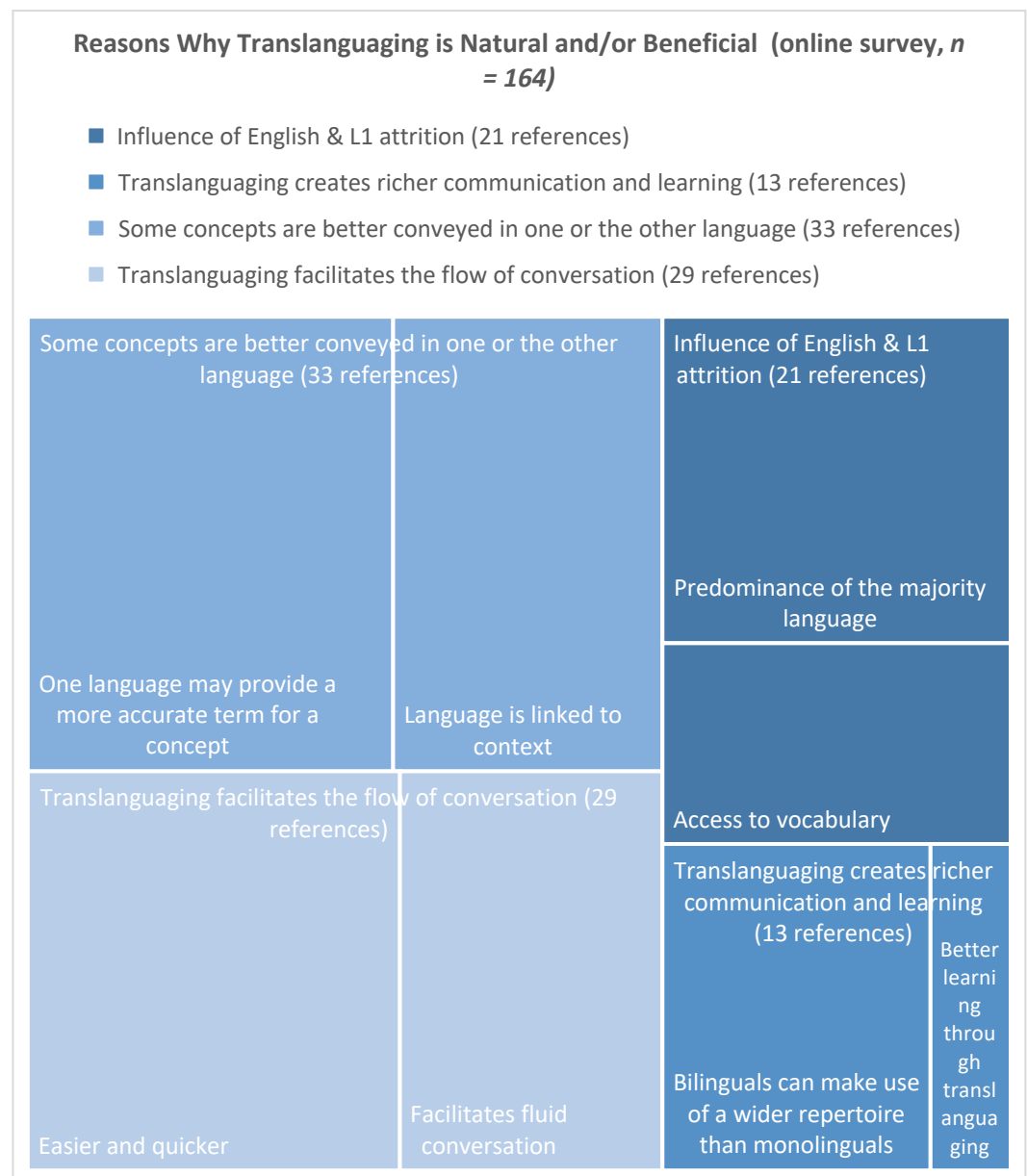


Figure 6: Reasons why translanguaging is natural.

The most prominent justification for describing translanguaging as natural is that different concepts are better conveyed in one or the other language (33 references). Respondents referred to instances where a language variety includes a particular term which either does not translate precisely in the other language or would require a longer phrase. Examples were provided such as ‘playdate’ (venir jouer à la maison), ‘softplay’ (aire de jeux gonflables) or ‘pédagogie’ (good teaching skills). Similarly, participants mentioned that language was closely linked to the context in which it was acquired, and therefore, bilinguals might switch languages depending on the topic of conversation. For instance, many parents declared that it was easier for them to speak about work or politics in English, whereas house and family-related concepts were more easily expressed in French, by both parents and children. Examples provided by the respondents included ‘We are going to the piscine’ (swimming-pool) and ‘Where is my maillot de bain?’ (swimsuit). Some participants explained that translanguaging was natural and positive (29 references) because it facilitated the flow of conversation. They reported that being able to select vocabulary in either language allowed for a faster and more fluid dialogue between multilingual interlocutors. In other words, they saw translanguaging as the result of a natural need and desire to communicate. According to some participants, bilinguals have a natural tendency to translanguage due to the influence of the majority language and to some level of attrition in the native language. Translanguaging would, therefore, be a consequence and remedy to the difficulty of accessing some French vocabulary. The last theme referenced (13 references) was the need to code-mix in order to achieve richer communication and learning. This particularly positive approach embraces translanguaging as an asset that provides bilinguals with a wider linguistic repertoire than monolinguals’.

Given that only 21% of respondents view translanguaging as unnatural and considering that some of them did not provide any justification for their statement, it was not possible to identify significant themes. However, two ideas were mentioned on several occasions. First, a few participants reported that languages were separated in the brain and that, therefore, bilingualism consisted in transferring or translating any given concept from one language to the other (10 references). Other respondents described code-mixing as an improper use of language, due to intellectual laziness (6 references). These ideas seem consonant with a monoglossic understanding of multilingualism (see Exploratory Factor Analysis results above).

Language Separation as a Language Management Strategy

Although a majority of parents perceived translanguaging as natural or positive, their reported beliefs did not necessarily match their reported language practices. In order to understand the participants' approach to HL maintenance, their answers regarding translanguaging need to be analysed in conjunction with their responses to item (2) *Speaking only French to my child will help him/her maintain his/her French*. An overwhelming majority of respondents (92%) believed that speaking French exclusively to their children would improve their chances of maintaining the minority language. Based on their accounts of family practices, it is clear that parents may not always apply their language ideologies consistently at home since only 42% reported speaking French exclusively. There is, therefore, a mismatch between reported beliefs and practices. Such discrepancy may be due to OPOL being an unrealistic long-term language management method, or to a conscious decision by parents to allow more flexibility in their language practices despite the benefits that language separation may bring in terms of HL proficiency.

Interestingly, although 65% of parents viewed translanguaging as natural and described bilingualism as a fluid phenomenon, most of them also declared that a strict separation of languages at home increased children's chances of becoming bilingual. Besides, only 26% of respondents reported translanguaging frequently with their children (see Table 4). This suggests that many parents may act contrary to their language beliefs in order to maximise children's exposure to the minority language. For this reason, it cannot be assumed that parents who claim to be implementing a strict version of the OPOL do so because of a monoglossic approach to bilingual language acquisition. It rather seems that a language separation strategy is often used despite parental beliefs and for lack of a better solution to counteracting the dominance of English.

The qualitative data provided by respondents offered evidence of two main motivations for the exclusive use of the minority language: (1) the avoidance of English as a means of maximising HL exposure and practice (76 references); (2) the avoidance of English in order to establish French as the default home language (12 references). For many parents in this survey, the separation of the majority and minority languages appears to be motivated by a very practical concern, rather than language ideology. This language management technique is an attempt by parents to provide children with HL input and the opportunity to practice the minority language. Respondents explained that maximising language input not only developed HL comprehension skills but also led to increased language production. The second

reason for avoiding speaking the majority language at home is the need to establish French as the home language, and fight children's natural tendency to use English. The idea is that language separation encourages children to respond in the minority language while translanguaging leads them to automatically revert to English.

Parents' Understanding of the Term 'Bilingual'.

Survey participants were asked to provide information on what bilingualism meant to them in terms of language proficiency. The quantitative item (27) *Real bilinguals speak both languages at the same level* was followed by a comment box in which parents justified their answers. 52% of respondents declared that a *real bilingual* spoke two languages with equal fluency. Three main themes emerged from these participants' qualitative responses and are summarised in figure 7 below.

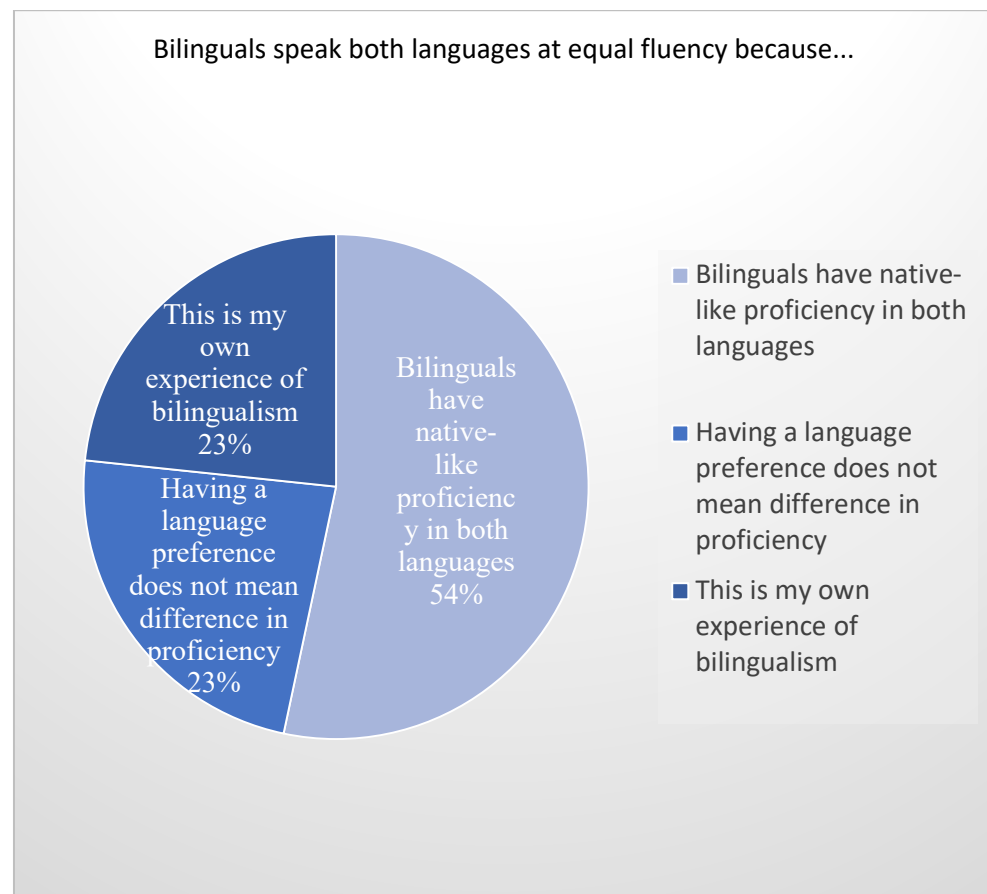


Figure 7: Justifications for balanced bilingualism as true bilingualism (52% of total respondents).

Among parents who view balanced bilingualism as true bilingualism, the most commonly held belief was the idea that bilinguals had two native languages and

therefore should achieve balanced, monolingual-like proficiency in each of their languages (54% of references). Bilingualism was described as the ability to ‘master two languages perfectly’ and ‘to communicate at the same level in both languages’. Some participants stated that real bilinguals were able ‘to speak both languages without any accent’ and ‘without monolingual people noticing’. Another prominent theme in parents’ comments was the distinction between language preference and language proficiency. In other words, the fact that bilinguals often have a language preference should not be interpreted as a difference in language proficiency. Last, participants justified their belief through their own perception of having achieved balanced bilingualism (‘Well I am bilingual, and I believe I speak both languages at the same level’).

37% of respondents believed that bilinguals may, and often do, have different proficiency levels in each language. Among the themes identified in the qualitative data, the notion of an ever-changing bilingual language proficiency was found in 40% of the references. Respondents provided examples based on their own experiences of bilingualism. For instance, many mentioned that they were more ‘comfortable with English than French’ but that it was not always the case. Others explained that they could discuss work-related topics more fluently in English while home-related vocabulary was easier to access in French. These responses suggest that participants perceived bilingualism as a dynamic process evolving across the lifespan rather than a static and permanent characteristic. The second most cited justification (32%) is the fact that most bilinguals had a dominant language, and since equal exposure to each language is rare, proficiency in the majority language always tends to be stronger among heritage speakers. As a respondent stated, ‘for children to have the same level in both languages they would have to spend six months in one country and six months in another’. The third theme that emerged from the qualitative data (12 references) is the existence of bilingualism at a variety of proficiency levels. These respondents simply explained that bilinguals with different degrees of proficiency in each language should still be described as bilingual.

Parental Expectations of Children’s HL Proficiency

Parents’ expectations of their children’s proficiency in the HL were gauged through the following items: (3) *I expect my child’s French to be as good as his/her English* and (5) *My child(ren)’s level of French has met my expectations so far*. Responses to item (3) revealed two almost equal tendencies, with 40% of parents expecting their children’s French proficiency to be as developed as their English and 46% who

disagreed with this statement (14% of respondents had no opinion). Participants who did agree with the statement specified their expectations as follows (see Table 8 below):

Expected level of French proficiency	Number of coding references
Same proficiency in all four skills (listening, speaking, reading & writing)	32
Same listening and speaking skills	12
Same listening, speaking and reading skills	7

Table 8: Expected level of French proficiency – (Item 26. Please give more details about the French language skills you expect your child(ren) to achieve (comprehension, speaking, writing, reading))

Among respondents who agreed with the statement (*I expect my child's French to be as good as his/her English*), a majority explained that they expected balanced bilingualism is all four skills: speaking, listening, reading and writing. Other respondents limited their expectations of equal proficiency in French and English to listening and speaking skills. Finally, a few parents declared that they expected their children to have the same levels of speaking, reading, and listening competence, in both languages, but described French writing skills as more difficult to develop within an English-speaking environment.

Parents who did not expect their children to develop balanced bilingualism provided additional comments which revolved around three main ideas (see Table 9 below).

Expected French Proficiency & Additional Comments	Number of coding references
I expect my child to be able to have a simple conversation in French.	26
This is an unrealistic expectation given the current level of HL exposure.	20
I expect average/decent levels of listening, speaking and reading in the HL.	6

Table 9: Expected level of French proficiency - I do not expect my child's French to be as good as his/her English.

Among respondents who did not contemplate balanced bilingualism as the outcome of bilingual childrearing, the most cited expectation was their children's ability to carry out a casual conversation with their French relatives. These parents seemed to approach their children's bilingualism as a means of communicating with the extended family rather than as an end result in itself. Other comments (20 references) described balanced bilingualism as an unrealistic goal considering the unequal amounts of exposure received by children to each language.

As for parents' levels of satisfaction with their children's language proficiency, a majority of participants (60%) declared themselves satisfied with their child's current HL skills, while 27% stated that their expectations had not been met. Among dissatisfied parents, the most common reason cited was the amount of English spoken by the child, at home. Parents were also asked to gauge their children's attitude to the HL. A majority (67%) declared that their child(ren) enjoyed speaking French, whereas 15% believed that their offspring had a negative attitude towards the HL. A significant number of parents (18%) responded that they did not know whether their child(ren) enjoyed speaking French.

Reported Evolution of Parental Language Expectations & Management over time.

Last, an open question was included in the survey to understand whether the FLP originally espoused by parents was likely to evolve over time, due to unforeseen factors. Quantification of the data showed that 51% of respondents reported that they had changed their approach over the years, while 43% declared having kept the same language management methods (6% had no opinion). Many parents felt they had to adjust their language beliefs and practices in light of their families' sociolinguistic environment, as well as their children's language preferences and personalities. Parents reported four types of change in their FLP, as summarised in Figure 8 below.

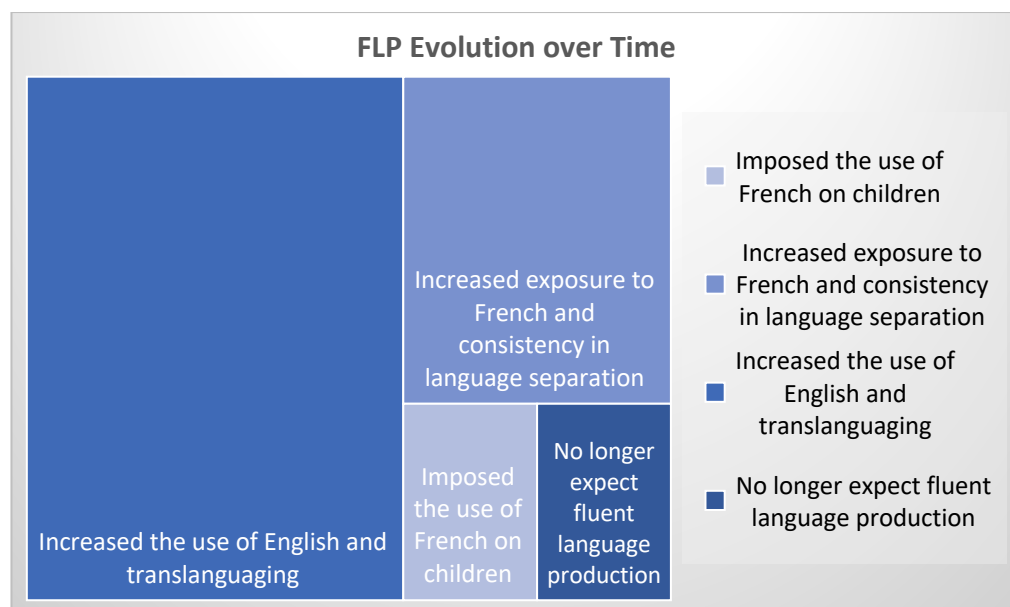


Figure 8: Reported FLP Evolution over Time.

The most prominent theme (45 references) indicated a move from the exclusive use of French towards translanguing practices. Various reasons were mentioned for the increased use of English, the most commonly cited being the child’s refusal to speak the minority language. In order to maintain communication, parents felt the need to adjust their initial decision and accept the inclusion of English in their home language practices. Other respondents felt the need to introduce English at home in order to support their children’s academic development. Last, after many years living in the UK, some parents have themselves found it challenging to speak their native language exclusively.

Other parents went in the opposite direction and adopted a stricter OPOL strategy (20 references). The change often occurred with the realisation that English was becoming the child’s dominant language through schooling. 7% of respondents declared that they had moved towards imposing the use of French on their children, while, conversely, another 7% abandoned the expectation that their child would address them in the HL.

4.3 Conclusion

This online survey results answered research question (1) (What are parents' reported beliefs about bilingualism and dual language acquisition?) and provided some elements of response to research question (2), which was further investigated in the qualitative portion of this study.

Research Question (1) What are parents' reported beliefs about bilingualism and dual language acquisition?

The survey responses revealed two main patterns in parental beliefs about bilingual childrearing. The traditional monoglossic theory of bilingualism as the existence of two separate linguistic systems still seems well ingrained in parental language ideologies. Such beliefs are associated with the idea of balanced bilingualism as the only legitimate form of bilingualism (Flores and Schissel, 2014). The results also show that parents' language ideologies informed their expectations of their children's HL proficiency. However, the other belief pattern identified among the survey respondents is a heteroglossic understanding of bilingualism. Many parents who took part in the online survey seemed to favour the more recent perspective on bilingualism as a fluid phenomenon. More particularly, a majority of participants described translanguaging as a natural and positive practice among bilinguals. While researchers advocating a 'multilingual turn' are still opposing a long legacy of monoglossic beliefs (Li, 2011; Creese, Blackledge, Takhi and Jaspreet, 2014), the current study results indicate that translanguaging as a positive, practical theory of bilingualism (Li, 2017) may now be well reflected in parental ideologies.

Research Question (2) What is the relationship between parents' language beliefs, language management and language practices?

The survey results indicated a certain level of consistency between parents' reported language management methods and their reported language practices. Respondents who declared that they had established a strict OPOL strategy at home also consistently reported speaking the minority language only to their children, including in the presence of the non-French parent. Similarly, parents whose language management included the tolerance and use of translanguaging described their family language practices as a mix of the minority and majority varieties.

That being said, whilst parents' accounts of their language management and language use appeared to be congruent, the survey revealed a gap between reported language ideologies and language practices. First, there is a clear discrepancy between the support voiced by a significant number of parents for the OPOL method and the more flexible language practices they engage in at home. Such inconsistency has been reported in the literature (Schwartz, 2008; Doyle, 2013; Smith-Christmas, 2016) and has often been attributed to the difficulty of implementing a strict separation of languages in daily interactions. More interestingly, this research shows a dissonance between a positive parental attitude towards translanguaging and their support for and implementation of the OPOL method. Many parents who described translanguaging as natural and beneficial in essence, also stated that it was better avoided considering children's limited exposure to the HL. In other terms, these parents believed that they could not *afford* translanguaging due to the overwhelming dominance of English in their families' sociolinguistic environment. Therefore, these findings highlight the fact that not only do bilingual family language practices not necessarily reflect parental ideologies, but that parents may even adopt language strategies that run counter to their ideologies about bilingualism. For many French participants in this research, the decision to implement a language separation technique at home was motivated by a pragmatic consideration- that is the desire to maximise the amount of HL input received by children, despite their beliefs about the flexible nature of bilingualism. It seems that, in order for many parents to embrace a flexible language approach, in agreement with their language beliefs, additional forms of HL input, from the community or the mainstream education system, would help relieve parents of the responsibility of being the sole source of HL for their children.

The online survey has proven to be an effective method to explore the variety of approaches to bilingual childrearing, among French parents in the UK. Some language ideologies and management methods were identified, as well as the dynamics between language ideologies, management and practices. This first stage of this study has highlighted the complex relationships and some apparent discrepancies between parental beliefs and their language management practices. In the second part of this research, six in-depth case studies further explored the explicit and implicit motivations behind parents' choices of particular approaches to HL transmission. More importantly, the qualitative phase of the research was designed to understand how the various language beliefs and practices identified through the online survey may be experienced by different members of a family. In order to gain

a nuanced insight into the impact of FLP on parents' experiences of bilingual childrearing and children's experiences of growing up bilingually, families were selected based on the survey responses and with a view to representing a variety of FLPs. 2 families from 3 different regions of the UK were chosen in order to include some degree of geographical diversity within the research sample. The 6 participating families can be categorised in 2 groups based on the French parent's language management style: 3 of them were following a rigorous language separation policy while the other 3 had more flexible language practices at home. Each of these groups included one family in which two siblings took part in the research process. Of the 6 case studies, 5 deal with families in which the mother is French. This reflects the profile of the online survey participants who were at 86% female ($n = 141$). Among the 164 respondents, 127 expressed an interest in taking part in the qualitative investigation, 113 of which were mothers and 14 were fathers. Reports of the 6 case studies are presented in the next section.

Chapter 5: The Case Studies

This chapter presents each of the six families in turn. The case study reports are followed by a cross-case analysis and discussion of the findings.

Every case study describes the following FLP components:

1. The language practices of each family member.
2. The parental language management style and methods.
3. The parental language ideologies.

In addition to these three FLP elements, each case report includes:

4. The parents' perception of their children's language attitudes.
5. Children's attitudes towards the minority language and towards parental language management style.

Each case study report is based on the data obtained from the mixed methods discussed in the methodology chapter, namely face-to-face interviews with the French parents, email interviews with the non-French parents, interviews and language portraits of the children and audio recorded observations of family interactions. French and English names and surnames were replaced by French and English pseudonyms, respectively. Pseudonyms also contain the same number of syllables as participants' actual names in order to remain as close as possible to an authentic description of each participant. Translations are presented in bold and italic for clarity purposes.

5.1 Case Study Reports

Case Study A: The Collins Family

Rachel is a French native speaker who has been living in the UK for 25 years. She studied English and translation in France but works as a part-time business administrator. Her husband, Allan, was born and raised in the UK and runs a tech company. Allan declares having some understanding of simple French conversation but no productive skills. Their three children, H  l  ne, 9, Antoine 16 and Florian 17, were all born in Britain. Only H  l  ne and Antoine took part in the research as Florian was away on university campus tours. Although Rachel mentioned Florian a few times during her interview, the data analysis focused on the two younger siblings since only they were able to provide their perspectives.

Family Language Practices

Interactions within the Collins Family follow a clear and consistent pattern. English is exclusively used between the children and their father who ‘understands a lot [of French]’ but does not speak it at all. As Rachel explains, she and her children address each other exclusively in French, ‘whether at home, at the shop or in presence of friends’. The children speak mostly English to each other except on rare occasions when they visit family in France. The family language practices reported by Rachel were confirmed by H  l  ne and Antoine who declared that their mother ‘would never speak English’ to them regardless of the location and the situation. Communication by text messages between the mother and her children are also exclusively in French. As far as translanguaging is concerned, Rachel was part of the 37% of online respondents who declared that they never or rarely mixed French and English. She reported that her code-mixing was limited to the rare occasions where no French equivalent could be found for an English term, such as ‘lunch bag’ or ‘nativity play’. Antoine also declared that he did not translanguage because he had ‘all the words’. H  l  ne, on the contrary, reported code-mixing often and finding it ‘fun’.

Language Management

As reported in both the online survey and the interview, Rachel strictly implements the one person-one language strategy. Not only does she speak the minority language

consistently, but she also imposes the use of French on her children in direct conversations with her. Antoine, 16, declares that his mother has never spoken a word of English to him. To the question of whether they would ever speak English to their mother, Hélène and Antoine simply replied: ‘There’s no point. She won’t respond’. On occasions where the children attempt to address their mother in English, Rachel describes her reaction as follow:

- COLL.1 Je dis: « J'comprends pas. qu'est-ce que tu veux me dire? » Alors peut-être: « est-ce que c'est...? » Et je leur donne l'expression française, et dans ce cas-là, j'essaie au moins de faire en sorte qu'ils répètent, dans l'idéal, sinon qu'ils me disent "Oui c'est ça que j'veux dire", et donc j'leur dis en français. Je comprends pas ça veut dire je veux pas. [...] “Non tu peux pas avoir de gâteau parce que tu m'as pas demandé en français [laughter]”.
- I say: “I don’t understand. What are you trying to tell me?” Or maybe, “Do you mean...?” And I give them the French equivalent, and in that case, I make sure that they repeat it at least, or that they tell me “Yes, that’s what I meant”, and then I tell them in French. I don’t understand means I don’t want to. [...] “No, you can’t have any cake because you haven’t asked me in French [laughter]”.*

Rachel’s language management remains rigorous in presence of non-French speakers, such as the children’s friends.

- COLL.2 Si j'ai des amis autour de moi, ou même avec leurs amis à eux, je ne parle que français. Et s'il y a quelque chose que je dis éventuellement deux fois, euh, tous ensemble, "Vous savez que vous n'avez pas à monter dans les chambres", et je répète en anglais, après, pour les copains aussi. Comme ça je *leur* ai parlé, en les regardant *eux*, directement en français, et je regarde tous les autres quand je le dis en anglais [laughter].
- And if I have friends around, or even with their friends, I only speak French. And if there’s something that I potentially say twice, euh, to everybody, “you know you’re not supposed to go in the bedrooms upstairs”, and I repeat it in English, afterwards, for the friends. This way, I looked at THEM and spoke to THEM directly in French, and I look at everyone else when I say something in English.*

A similar strategy is applied when the father, Allan, is present. Rachel addresses the children in French and subsequently translates for her husband, if necessary. Rachel’s method includes the use of body language to signal that any comment in English is directed at Allan only.

- COLL.3 S’il y a des choses que je veux être sûre qu’il ait compris, si je les ai disputé, si elle a pas son dessert parce qu’elle a pas fini son assiette, ou il a pas rangé sa chambre ou autre, j’lui dis en français et après, je me tourne vers mon mari et j’lui dis en anglais. Eux ils savent que si je le répète en anglais c’est pour lui, pour qu’il ait compris [laughter].

- Vous parlez de quoi?
What are you talking about?
- *Antoine: Papa, il va acheter un [hesitation][silence]
Dad, he's going to buy a [hesitation][silence]
- *Allan (British father, basic French skills): the Christmas present?
- *Antoine: [addressing his father] Yeah, you're going to. A [inaudible] [brand of jet ski]. I would have liked it but hmm he said it was in stock but it wasn't.
- *Rachel: [addressing and looking at her husband Allan] Are you talking about the box he's received today?)

The recorded interactions also show that English generally dominates at the dinner table despite Rachel's numerous attempts to bring the conversation back to French. Conversations initiated by the children were always held in English and directed at the group or at their father. The children spoke French only in response to their mother's direct questions, but they never started a new topic that would involve directly addressing their mother in the minority language. The children's utterances in French always remained very brief and sometimes almost non-existent, as in the two conversation samples below:

- COLL.5
- *Rachel (French mother):
Moi j'avais t'emmener à [pause] j'avais t'emmener au truc d'escalade à X (location), hein?
I, I wanted to take you to [pause] I wanted to take you to the climbing thing in X, (location), hmm?
- *Antoine: Pourquoi? **Why?**
- *Rachel: Parce que t'es bon, t'aime bien. **Because you're good, you like it.**
- *Antoine: Hmm
- *Rachel: Ben tu peux essayer et si ça t'plait on t'prend un abonnement.
Well, you can try and if you like we get you a membership.
- *Allan (British father, basic French skills):
That thing is expensive. It's £35 per session.
- *Rachel: [addressing Antoine] (...) On peut t'emmener hein? Tous les soirs que tu veux comme ça. Quand t'as pas after-school. [addressing Antoine]
We can take you, hmm? Any evening that you want. When you don't have after-school.
- *Antoine: Hmm?
- *Rachel: Quand t'as pas after-school. **When you don't have after-school.**
- *Antoine: J'avais pas aujourd'hui. **I didn't have it today.**
- *Rachel: Si t'avais aujourd'hui. **Yes, you did today.**
- *Antoine: Non. **No.**
- *Rachel: Ah ça a pas encore démarré? **Oh, hasn't it started yet?**
- *Antoine: Si. **It did.**

COLL.6

*Rachel (French mother) : Qui a mis la bouilloire en route ?
Who put the kettle on?

*Antoine : Moi. *Me.*

*Rachel : Pour quoi faire? *What for?*

*Antoine: C'est moi. *It's me.*

*Rachel : Hmm I'm on my second.

*Rachel : C'est bon. *Is it good?*

*Hélène: Les pates [thumb up], le bacon [thumb down]. *The pasta [thumb up], the bacon [thumb down].*

*Antoine: [Addressing his father] How do you connect to this?
[electronic device].

*Allan (father, monolingual English speaker): Huh?

*Antoine: We can't connect to that.

*Allan: We keep going over and over this.

*Antoine: No, not with me.

*Allan: You haven't got the right thing for it. It doesn't exist
on the one you've got.

Minority Language Parent's Ideologies - *Raising a child bilingually is... 'difficult but rewarding' (Rachel).*

COLL.7 À la minute où [hesitation] un enfant comprend qu'il peut parler aux parents en anglais, et donc papa ou maman répond en français de toutes façons, ils arrêtent de parler français. Et donc le niveau baisse.
From the moment when [hesitation] a child understands that she can speak English to her parents, and that dad or mum responds in French anyway, she stops speaking French. And, then, the proficiency level goes down.

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sticking to her guns over the years and has applied the same policy to each child as she believes that ‘if one child does it, then the others follow’.

Her beliefs about bilingual language acquisition seem to derive from witnessing the experiences of friends. She mentions three different families who ‘let their children speak English to them’ and in which the children stopped speaking the minority language over time. Besides, Rachel declares that her university studies in English and translation, as well as her readings about childhood bilingualism, give her an informed insight into bilingual childrearing.

As for translanguaging, Rachel describes this language practice as ‘intellectual laziness’. She believes that parents often ‘anglicise’ French syntax without realising it and that they should make ‘a conscious effort’ to use the correct structure. Her negative perception of translanguaging is consistent with her language separation strategy at home.

Expectations of children’s HL proficiency.

Rachel’s strict language rules also come with high expectations of her offspring’s French proficiency. She reports that when the children were younger, ‘[she] had looked for courses so they [could] learn French at the same level as English’. She admits that their level of French is still inferior to their English and that ‘they could use some improvement’. She is particularly dissatisfied with Antoine’s proficiency as she believes that he is not ‘a linguist by nature’ and that people are naturally better or worse at learning languages. She, nonetheless, maintains the same expectations for Antoine as for her two other children. That being said, Rachel believes that her children’s skills in the HL are ‘better than others’ (...) whose parents don’t make that effort’.

She rationalises her approach to bilingualism through her beliefs about parenting in general. She justifies her FLP as follow:

COLL.8 En plaçant la barre haut [hesitation], c’est comme pour tout en élevant des enfants, on met l’idéal là [placing hand above head], et en fait quand on arrive là [placing hand at eye level], on pourrait être là [placing hand at waist level]. Donc on est content d’être là [placing hand at eye level].
By placing the bar high [hesitation], it’s like anything else when you’re raising children, here is your ideal scenario [placing hand above head], and when you actually get here [placing hand at eye level], but you could be here [placing hand at waist level]. So, you’re happy to be here [placing hand at eye level].

Rachel's approach fits Piller's (2002) description of commonly high expectations among elite bilingual parents implementing OPOL. Besides, as with the Chinese parents in Curdt-Christiansen's study (2009), Rachel's high expectations of HL proficiency are associated with high expectations in other aspects of her children's lives, such as education.

Parental Motivations for Developing Children's HL

Rachel sees the transmission of the minority language as a major opportunity for her children. She explains that it provides them with some academic and social 'superiority' and maximises their chances for future employment. She is aware of the prestige status of French as opposed to other minority languages, as she explains below.

COLL.9 La plupart des gens, en Angleterre, ont une vision positive du français, donc de ce côté-là y pas de problème. Si on est bilingue français, les gens trouvent ça super. Donc y a pas d'aspect négatif (...) Et à l'école, le français étant perçu positivement, ils disent "waou, t'as passé ton GCSE³ deux ans plus tôt, waou t'es même pas venu aux cours".
Most people in England perceives French positively, so, there's no problem on that side. And if you're French bilingual, people think it's great. So, there's no negative aspect to it (...) And at school, French being perceived positively, they say: "Wow, you took your GCSEs two years earlier, wow you didn't even attend the lessons."

Another motivation for Rachel's language management choice is to nurture the relationship between her children and their relatives in France. Besides, she describes herself as being 'strongly attached' to her culture and wanting to transmit 'that part of herself' to her children. The link between parents' cultural identity and their desire to transmit the heritage language has been reported in previous studies, across a range of ethno-linguistic communities (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009, 2015; Cho, 2015).

Rachel's approach to developing the minority language is also intertwined with the idea of 'good parenting' as reported in Okita (2002) and King and Fogle (2008). She believes that, as a good mother, she is responsible for offering her children the opportunity of bilingualism, despite the work it entails and her children's lack of enthusiasm.

³ (in the UK except Scotland) a qualification in a specific subject typically taken by school students aged 14–16

Last, Rachel has expressed the long-time desire to live in France one day. She would like her children to be able ‘to follow an education in France’ in case of her potential return. However, she is pessimistic about the prospect of moving back to her homeland since the topic ‘has already created some tensions’ with her husband, Allan, who, she believes, is not willing to ‘make an effort’.

Non-French Parent’s Approach to Bilingual Childrearing

Allan’s email responses converge with Rachel’s idea that she is entirely responsible for the children’s acquisition of French. His email interview was particularly brief (with a word count of 65 as opposed to an average of 265 words for the other five British parents). He declares ‘agree[ing] with Rachel’s goals one hundred percent’. Allan describes the FLP as ‘strict’ but ‘worth it’. No mention was made of any particular disagreement regarding his wife’s desire to move back to her home country.

Parental Perception of Children’s Attitude

According to Allan, the children have a positive attitude towards their French cultural and linguistic heritage. Rachel also explains that she has tried to ensure that the children would not experience her language management style negatively. She realises that ‘it annoys them’ sometimes but she believes that their appreciation will come with maturity.

Hélène and Antoine’s Attitude Towards the HL and Parental Language Management.

Both Hélène and Antoine show little enthusiasm towards Rachel’s efforts to promote French within the family. The children’s reluctance to adopt an all-French language policy at home came to light during the observation at the family home. As described previously, they seemed to avoid initiating interactions that would imply using the HL only, while they did not hesitate to start conversations in the majority language. While they both declare that they prefer to speak English, they also accept the fact that their mother ‘won’t bother to respond if it’s in English’. Antoine appears resigned to the fact that he will never be able to use the majority language with his mother and, therefore, he believes that ‘there’s no point’ trying because ‘it’s just life’. On the other hand, Hélène expresses some resentment towards Rachel for ignoring

her when speaking English. She reports feeling ‘annoyed’ on five occasions during the interview. She explains her frustration as follows:

COLL.10 I just feel annoyed cause I don't understand French as much. Cause some words that she says I don't understand. So [pause] they're just confusing me and I get really annoyed, and I stop talking.

Hélène reports some level of discomfort in her interactions with her mother, as she does not always have the necessary comprehension skills in the HL. Her language skills limitation, along with Rachel’s categorical refusal to include any English in their conversations, sometimes result in Hélène shutting down communication with her mother.

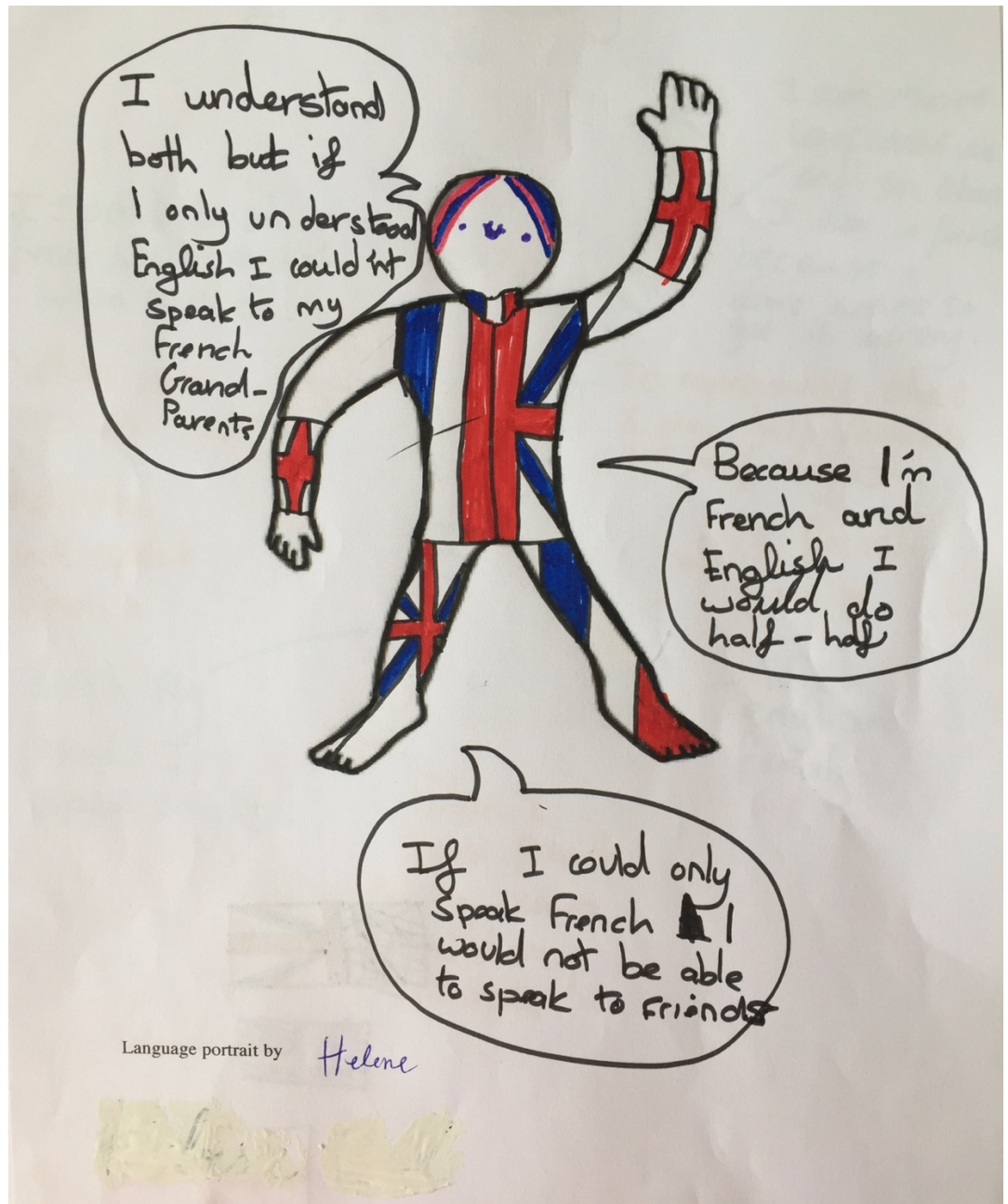
Both Hélène and Antoine have fairly positive attitudes towards their supplementary school. Although they find it difficult to ‘go to school on Saturdays’, Antoine sees it as an opportunity to achieve good grades in his GSCEs while Hélène has developed some strong friendships at the school over the years.

Overall, the children’s attitude towards their mother’s language management appears to be strongly negative in Hélène’s case, and resigned, at best, as far as Antoine is concerned. This is also reflected in the children’s response to the last interview question:

COLL.11 *Interviewer: And do you think that when you have children, you will teach them French?
 *Hélène: No.
 * Interviewer: Why?
 * Hélène: [silence]
 *Antoine: No idea.

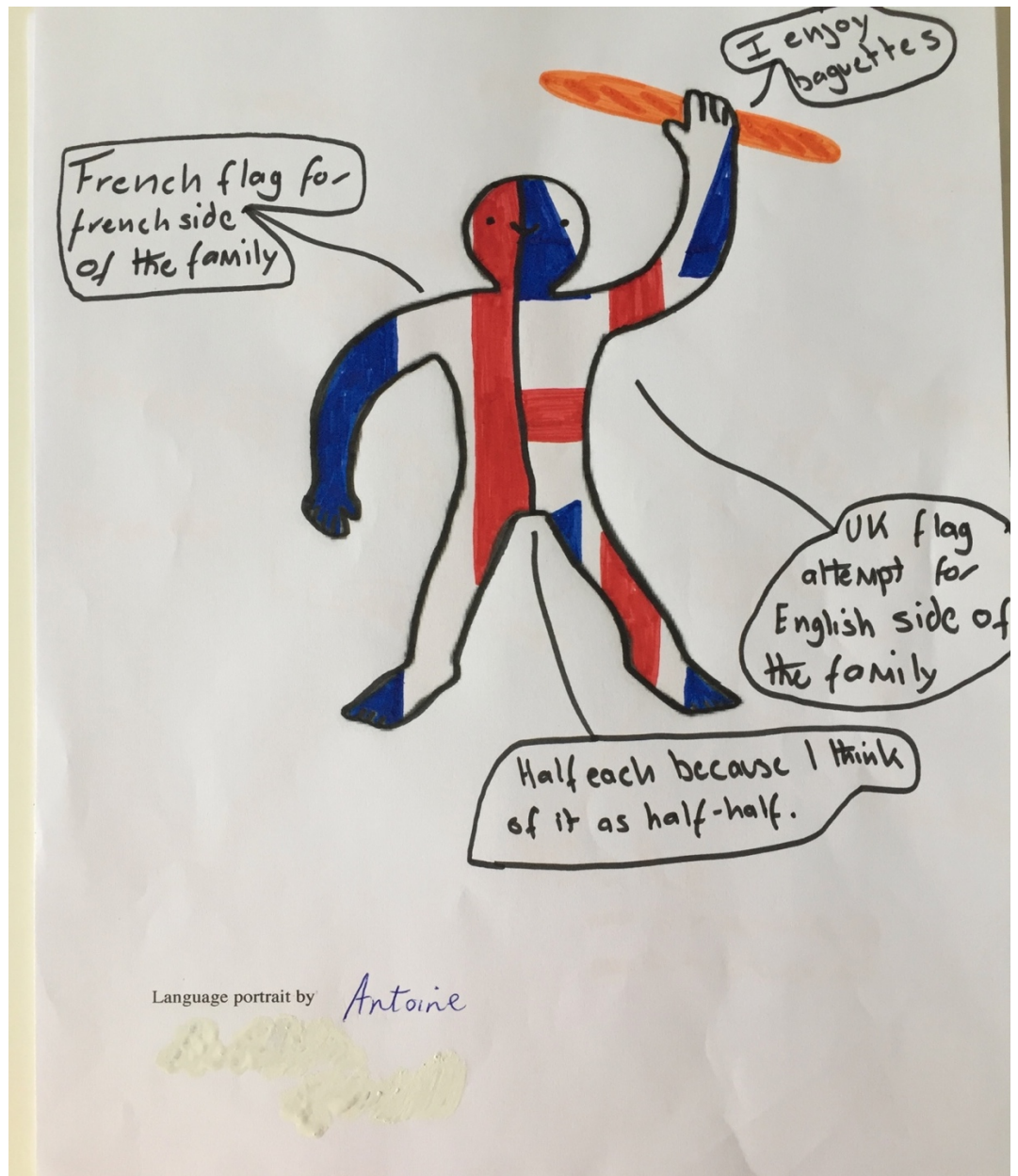
During a second encounter, Helene and Antoine were asked to create language portraits to describe how they experienced the various language varieties present in their lives (see Chapter 3: Methodology).

Figure 9: *Hélène’s Language Portrait.*



Hélène's portrait reveals that she identifies as 'half French' despite her negative perception of her mother's language management choices. The text in the speech bubbles suggests that she strongly associates languages with the relationships that she values at this stage of her life, such as her grandparents and her friends. However, no mention is made of her mother despite the fact that she is her main source of input in the heritage language. Both languages seem closely intertwined on the portrait.

Figure 10: Antoine's Language Portrait.



Antoine's portrait seems straightforward but contains a touch of sarcasm. He sums up his appreciation of the French culture by the fact that he 'enjoys baguettes'. Antoine used the French flag to represent 'the French side of the family' while the British flag is a symbol for the English-speaking side of the family. As in his sister's language portrait, each language is closely associated with family. Antoine also identifies as 'half-French' and 'half-English'. The obvious similarities between Antoine and H  l  ne's figures may be due to the fact that they created their portraits sitting at the same table and may have, therefore, influenced each other.

Case Study B: The Bradford Family

Vanessa was born and raised in France. She has been living in the UK for 23 years and works as a laboratory manager. Her husband, Carl, is a British citizen of Indian descent, and does not speak any other languages than English fluently. Carl describes his French as just good enough to order food at a restaurant, or as his wife puts it: ‘tourist’s level’. Their two children, Eric, 11 and Ella, 13, were born in Britain and attend the same secondary school. They report getting along well; however, they regularly engage in teasing behaviour, which transpires during the recorded interview and observation.

Family Language practices

As a general rule, Vanessa tends to address the children in French but she is also part of the 23% of online participants who reported translanguaging (very) often. The children also declare that Vanessa speaks ‘French and English (...) depend(ing) on how she is feeling’. Eric and Ella respond to their mother in English ‘90%’ of the time according to Vanessa. She describes her interactions with the children as follows:

BRAD.1 Ben l'anglais en fait vient assez facilement quand euh, parce qu'en fait Ils me repondent en anglais donc au bout d'un moment c'est "bon ben on va continuer en anglais", c'est fatigant quoi. C'est souvent. Et après ils me répondent en anglais. Donc c'est vraiment un mélange quoi. Je commence en français généralement et ça finit en anglais quoi [laughter].
Well, English comes quite easily when euh, because, actually, when they respond to me in English, at some point it goes ‘Ok then we’ll continue in English’, it’s just tiring. It happens often. And then they respond to me in English. So, it’s really a mix yeah. I generally start off in French and it ends up being in English [laughter].

Vanessa also translanguages with bilingual colleagues, friends and her sister who lives in the UK. She reports using ‘English words into a French conversation’ frequently. Both Vanessa and the children declare that they use a mix of French and English between the three of them, in public places. In presence of Carl, all family members usually speak English because ‘he understands very little French’, as explained by Vanessa and the children. Between themselves, the children always speak English, except ‘if (they) don’t want anyone to know what (they)’re saying’, in which case they speak the HL.

Language management

Vanessa qualifies her approach to the transmission of the minority language as 'relaxed'. Her language management methods vary from what Lanza (1997) describes as 'move-on strategy' -the adult does not intervene and lets the conversation take its course, to 'adult code-switching' -the adult uses both languages. Vanessa's language management can be described as highly tolerant towards translanguaging (Lanza, 1997; Curdt-Christiansen, 2013). She does not expressively ask Ella and Eric to use the minority language. Rather than language rules, Vanessa has established a 'tradition' of speaking French in the car, on the journey back from French school. Even on that occasion, the children do not seem to experience it as a constraining exercise, as Ella explains: 'she doesn't really mind if we don't want to speak French. It's like, it's on us.'

During visits to Vanessa's family in France, she encourages the children to speak French in presence of their grandparents. She describes her approach as follows:

BRAD.2 Ils vont dire: "Oh j'connais pas le mot en français". Donc je dis "Ben tu construis ta phrase en français et le mot que tu comprends pas ou tu ne sais pas comment dire, tu me le dis et puis j'te le dis".
They will say: "Oh but I don't know that word in French". So, I say "Well, construct your sentence in French and if there's a word you don't know or don't know how to say, you tell me and I'll tell you".

Vanessa explains that her approach has been flexible since the children were little. When she realised that they preferred using English, she decided to adopt a 'light' and playful approach to avoid creating tensions. She gives the following example of how she tries to deal with grammatical mistakes in a positive way:

BRAD.3 On essaie de garder un aspect positif. Même là, par exemple, ils font une erreur toute bête, "je suis faim", je dis "Ah ben non, t'es pas très fin" [laughter]. Donc on se moque aussi de ça, donc pour garder l'esprit un peu léger.
We try to look at the positive side of it. Even if, for example, they make a simple mistake. "Je suis faim" (instead of 'J'ai faim' = 'I am hungry'), I say, "Ah ben non, t'es pas très fin" [laughter] ("Well, no, you're not that fine", 'fin' and 'faim' being homophones). So, it helps keep a cheerful mind.

When Ella and Eric were toddlers, Vanessa decided to register them at the French supplementary school so that they learn the language through play and songs. She has always referred to the Saturday school as 'the club' in order to motivate the

children. As they grew older, she realised that the supplementary school was necessary for Ella and Eric to develop their French literacy as ‘it had become too complicated’ to do at home. The children are not interested in reading the books they receive weekly from the Saturday school. However, Vanessa does not force them to read in French as she does not want it to be a “chore” given that they are already reluctant to attend the school.

Observed language practices & management

The observed interaction took place after school, on a week day. Vanessa, Eric and Ella were present and discussed one of Eric’s school assessments given by his French teacher. As reported, the children spoke mostly English to their mother and between themselves. Vanessa spoke mainly French and did not translanguage. This may be due to the topic of the conversation (Eric discussing his school French assessment for feedback), as well as a conscious effort to use French on Vanessa’s part due to the presence of the researcher.

Despite the many mistakes in Eric’s French homework, Vanessa did not interrupt to offer any corrections, unless specifically requested by the children. This confirmed her reported language management method of praising efforts at the expense of linguistic correctness. Besides, Vanessa attempted to minimise Ella’s criticism of her brother’s French, as demonstrated in the conversation sample below:

- BRAD.4 *Eric: Oh, would you like to listen to that paragraph *en français*? (...) C'est pour mon *assessment*. [reading in jerky speech] ‘J'habite au X (home town), c'est en Angleterre.’
- *Ella: Just do the whole thing without doing [b] [b] [b] [mimicking cluttered speech].
- *Eric: No [interrupted by Vanessa]
- *Vanessa: Ok. Ok. Tu le dis. Répète.
- *Eric: ***Ok. Ok. You say it. Say it again.***
[continuing reading his work] "Pour commencer, X est vraiment moderne, des parts de X est vraiment moderne, et des autres parts est vieille. J'aime habiter à X parce que il y a pleins de bâtiments pour visiter, et plein de activités pour faire. »
That's my first line. Then it says: 'What do you like doing?'[continuing reading] "L'avantage de habiter en X, comme j'ai dit d'abord, il y a pleins de activités comme aller dans le parc pour faire des promenades en barque et faire le [hesitation] et faire le equesterien? [meant 'équitation'] [laughter].
- *Vanessa: [laughter] faire du cheval. ***Go horse-riding.***

Minority Parent's Language Ideologies - Raising a child bilingually is... 'not that easy' (Vanessa)

Language acquisition and bilingualism

Like many other participants in the online survey, Vanessa realised that keeping French in the family became more difficult upon the children's entry to school. Although she wonders whether she should have persisted more with using only French at home, she believes that her flexible approach was a 'necessity to avoid complications'. She found doing English homework in French particularly difficult for the children and for herself. When asked whether parents should, ideally, keep the minority and majority languages separated, Vanessa gave the following response:

- BRAD.5 *Interviewer: Penses-tu que dans l'idéal il faudrait séparer les 2 langues?
Do you think that, ideally, the two languages should be separated?
- *Vanessa: Hmm Je préfère qu'ils parlent, même si parfois y a des mots anglais, que pas du tout en fait. Je pense que, des fois je me tais quand je les entends et ils font une erreur. Je me dis bon, on laisse parler, et puis peut-être qu'après je dis "tiens peut-être que ça tu aurais pu le dire comme ça". Mais je me dis bon, tant qu'ils parlent, et qu'ils font l'effort. Pour ne pas couper l'effort.
Hmm I'd rather they talk, even if there are some English words, at times, rather than not at all. I think that, sometimes, I stay quiet when I hear them make mistakes. I think to myself, ok, we let it go, and then maybe later, I'll say: "Hey perhaps that you could have said it this way". But I'm thinking, OK, as long as they speak and make the effort. Not to undermine the effort.

Vanessa believes in encouraging communication and effort, sometimes at the expense of grammatical and lexical correctness. According to her, a stricter approach would defeat the very purpose of developing the acquisition and use of the minority language and would antagonise the children.

Vanessa perceives her husband's lack of proficiency in French as the main obstacle to transmitting the language to her children. Unlike other non-French parents in this study, Carl's French listening skills are very limited, which leads to the exclusive use of English during family time. Vanessa struggles to maintain the use of French at home given her husband's poor comprehension skills and the fact that she is the sole source of input in the minority language.

BRAD.6 Quand on parle à table le soir, ben on est obligé de parler anglais parce que sinon euh on a [hesitation] y a une personne qui comprend pas quoi. Donc ça c'est un peu dommage. C'est ça aussi qui fait la différence j'imagine (...) Ben mon mari, c'est sur ma tête quoi, c'est pas son problème en fait [laughter] (...) En fait c'est tout pour moi, de pousser ça, en fait le maillon faible c'est moi [laughter].
When we're talking at the dinner table, well we have to speak English, because, otherwise, we have euh [hesitation] there is someone who doesn't understand. So that's a bit of a shame. That's also what makes the difference I guess (...) Well, my husband, it's all on me, it's not his problem [laughter] (...) actually, it's all on my shoulders, pushing for it, I'm actually the weakest link [laughter].

Vanessa also finds it difficult to help her children acquire French without having access to a minority-language community. She explains that 'there's nothing French around' and that she does not have many 'French friends'. Vanessa's statement supports the description of prestige language bilinguals in the literature, as a generally dispersed population, with little community support, as opposed to more geographically concentrated linguistic groups (Pauwels, 2016; Little 2017).

Vanessa sees translanguaging as a natural practice for bilinguals. She explains that she sometimes translanguages because '[her] proficiency in French has decreased, compared to [her] English proficiency.' However, she also metaphorises translanguaging as 'the gymnastics of the mind' which indicates that '[one] is really bilingual'. She distinguishes between her bilingualism and the children's because whilst she learned English at school, Ella and Eric are learning French in a more naturalistic environment. Therefore, she believes that translanguaging may be even 'more natural' and 'more intuitive' to the children.

Language Expectations

According to Vanessa, Ella and Eric's levels of French 'might not be excellent, (...) but they get by, (and) they are ahead of any other child who (...) learns that language in school.' She is satisfied with their proficiency in French despite the grammatical mistakes and limited lexicon. The mother reports being happy that the children are able to communicate with her family even though she is aware that their conversations remain restricted to simple, everyday life topics.

Parental Motivations for Developing Children's HL

Vanessa's main motivation for passing on her native language to her children is for them to be 'integrated within the French family'. She finds it important that they have a connection with the environment in which she spent the first twenty years of her

life. Just like Rachel, in the previous case study report, Vanessa also believes that, as young adults, Ella and Eric will appreciate being multilingual even though they might not currently see it as an asset. She also thinks that knowing some French will facilitate learning other romance languages, based on her own experience of learning Italian.

Non-French Parent's Approach to Bilingual Childrearing

As previously mentioned, Vanessa believes that Carl has no impact or involvement in the maintenance of French within the family. She reports that her husband regularly declares: 'Tu dois faire plus d'efforts. Ça tient qu'à toi' (*'You need to make more effort. It's all up to you.'*). Carl, therefore, does support the idea of raising bilingual children although he does not feel responsible for the children's language development process. In his email interview, the father expresses his commitment to bilingual childrearing by using the first-person plural in the following statement:

BRAD.7 We are 100% committed in raising bilingual children. It is good for them to be able to talk to family in France and when they start work they will at the very least be able to speak and write two languages.

Carl perceives bilingualism at home, as a smooth and 'normal' process in which the children 'talk French to [his] wife and English to [him]'. He is aware, however, of the tension existing around attending French school every Saturday.

Parental Perception of children's attitude

Ella and Eric's father describes the family bilingualism as harmonious despite Eric disliking French school. Vanessa also explains, at length, Eric's reluctance to attend the supplementary school. However, both parents do not perceive their son's aversion to the weekend school as a negative attitude towards the heritage language itself. Vanessa believes that the heritage language and culture are part of the children's identities and that they feel 'half-French'. She also appears to be in tune with Eric and Ella's feelings towards acquiring the minority language as she explains that:

BRAD.8 Eric, lui, ça le gêne pas de faire des erreurs. Lui il essaiera et il fera l'effort tandis qu' Ella, elle, elle préfère être correcte donc parlera peut-être pas autant parce qu'elle veut pas faire d'erreurs en fait.
Eric, he doesn't mind making mistakes. He will try and make the effort whereas Ella, she'd rather be correct so she might not speak as much for fear of making mistakes.

Vanessa highlights the differences in her children's personalities and the way they approach language learning. She explains that Ella seems to experience some degree of heritage language anxiety (Dewaele and Sevinç, 2016). Vanessa also believes that her children associate the minority language with the maternal figure. The use of French would be a way for the children to show their emotional attachment and 'please mum' despite the effort this represents for them. According to Vanessa, Ella and Eric also use the emotional weight of their mother's native tongue 'when they want something from [her]'. Similarly, Carl explains that 'the French increases when they want something from their mother.' The children themselves confirm this idea in the following interview sample:

- BRAD.9 *Ella: Yeah but she doesn't really mind if we don't want to speak French. it's like, it's on us.
 *Eric: [addressing Ella] Yeah, you only speak French when you want something.
 *Ella: Nah I speak French when I need to.

Overall, Vanessa believes that through her flexible approach, the children have developed a positive attitude towards the minority language. She sees her relaxed attitude as the only way not to be perceived as the family's 'bad cop'.

Eric and Ella's Attitude Towards the HL and Parental Language Management.

As mentioned previously, all participating children in this research were asked, before the interview, whether they would like to be spoken to in English or in French. The researcher also emphasised that the children were free to speak to her in either French or English, and to translanguage at any point during the conversation. Ella and Eric chose to have the discussion in English because 'it [was] easier for (them)'. Both children seem to have a realistic idea of their French skills and limitations and how these are a product of their sociolinguistic environment. For instance, they understand that although their French proficiency at their English school is judged as very strong, it is not the case at their French supplementary school because 'there, everyone is French'. The interview extract below also demonstrates the children's awareness of their proficiency levels in the HL.

- BRAD.10 *Eric: I'm not a master of French (...) I don't know all of it because there are still things that I struggle with in class. So, so, the things that we do here [French school] are a lot harder than we do, ever do at school.

*Ella: More with verbs that I get corrected.
 *Eric: Yeah
 *Ella: Because I get the wrong hmm [pause]
 *Eric: Or if I get the wrong order in a sentence.

They explain that the amount of French input they regularly receive does not allow them to understand ‘old French phrases’, ‘if the person has an accent’ or what was said ‘on a historical trip because [they] wouldn’t use words like that everyday’.

Ella and Eric, despite experiencing the same FLP, have different approaches and attitudes to the minority language and their mother’s language management. Eric seems confident to use French in most situations and does not mind asking for help when struggling. However, he appears to be very frustrated with having to spend his Saturdays at the supplementary school. Although Eric’s negative attitude towards attending French school seems authentic, he appeared to exaggerate his frustration, during the interview, for humour’s sake:

BRAD.11 *Eric: Every time I say I’ve hurt my leg, she [his mother] says: “Well, you can hop around French school”.
 (...)
 *Interviewer: If you're a dad, will you teach French to your children?
 *Eric: [sighing] Probably. Because I don't want all my suffering to go unnoticed.
 *Interviewer: Your...?
 *Eric: My suffering to go unnoticed. I have to go through... [interrupted by Ella]
 *Ella: You're just moaning about going to French Club.
 *Eric: I'm not gonna let 10 years of French school go unnoticed!’

Ella reports feeling anxious about making mistakes when speaking French, which is consistent with her mother’s comments. She explains that she feels ‘a bit uncomfortable speaking French because [she] might say something wrong’. Ella’s concern with using language correctly became apparent during the observed conversation during which she drew attention to Eric’s language errors on three occasions, as in the example below.

BRAD.12 *Eric: [reading] Et dans le centre ville, il y a deux grands, un grand bassin pour faire *le* natation dedans. A mon *zavis*, j'aime aller [interrupted by Ella]
[reading] And in the town centre, they are two big, a big pool to swim in. In my opinion, I like to go [interrupted by Ella]

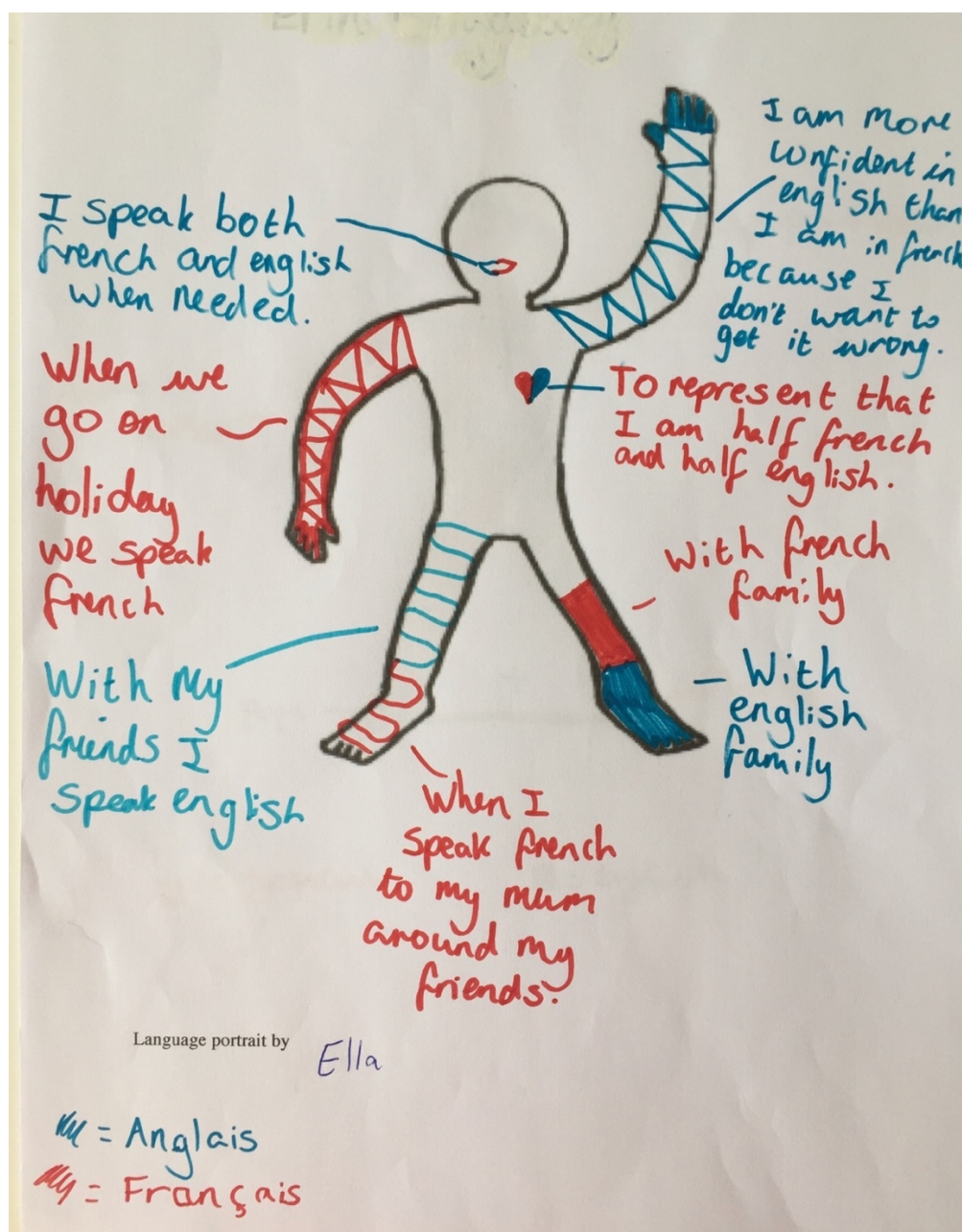
*Ella: A mon *zavis*?
*Vanessa: A mon avis.

Despite some degree of language anxiety, Ella reports enjoying speaking French and has decided to work on improving her HL skills.

BRAD.13 *Ella: I just want to be more fluent in French, more than I am already.
 *Interviewer: You want your French to become better?
 *Ella: Hmm [nodding]
 *Interviewer: How are you going to do that?
 *Ella: I have set a goal for myself, to speak French all the time to my mum. But I haven't, like, kept that goal. But I did when I was in France.

Overall, Eric and Ella have positive attitudes towards their heritage language and understand the importance of being able to communicate with their mother's side of the family. They are also aware of the advantage it provides them in regard to their school exams. However, it also seems that Ella is appreciably more attached to her HL than Eric, which also appears in their language portraits below.

Figure 11: Ella's Language Portrait.



Ella's portrait highlights the strong association between her two languages and her close relationships with family and friends.

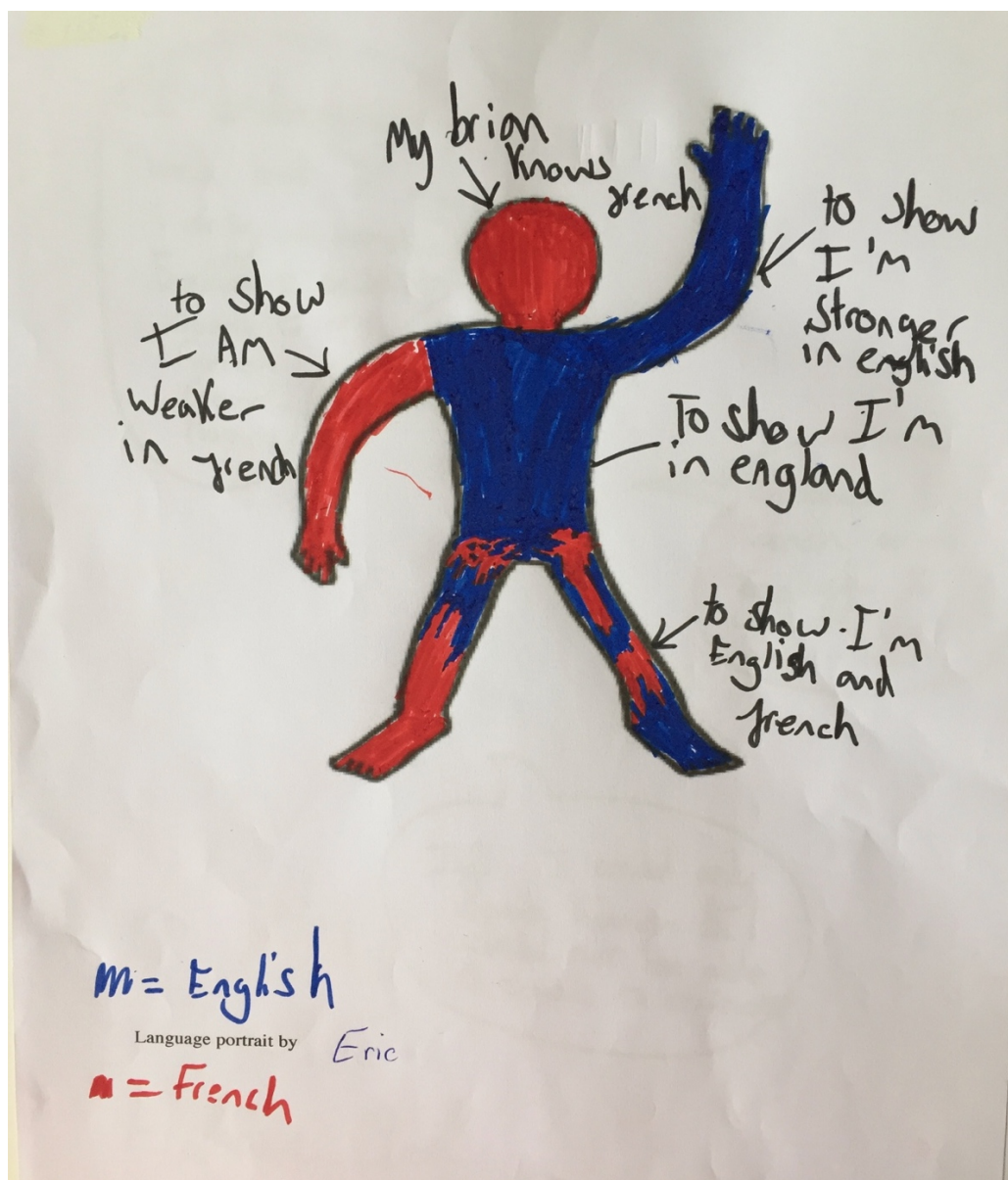
BRAD.14 I put my English family and my French family in different colours. And then, I did most of my other leg in blue because with my friends I speak English but hmm, but the red part is when I speak to my mum in French around my friends.

Ella's concerns about her French proficiency also appears to be an important element of her language portrait. She explains that the arm is blue 'to show that [she is] more comfortable in English than [she is] in French because [she doesn't] want to get it wrong.' Despite some degree of heritage language anxiety, Ella identifies as 'half-French, half-English', as suggested in her portrait description below.

BRAD.15 I put the heart to represent I'm half French, half English. I did it half in blue, half in red. I then, I did the same thing as I did with the heart, with my lips because I speak both English and French when it's needed.

BRAD.16 *Interviewer: You used the same amount of blue and red.
 *Ella: Yeah, it's half and half. It's not one more than the other.

Figure 12: Eric's Language Portrait.



As in Ella's portrait, the colours on Eric's figure are closely intertwined. He also shows awareness of his limitations in the minority language.

BRAD.17 I put my left arm because I'm right handed to show that I'm weaker in French (...) And then, hmm, my, my arm shows that I'm stronger in English.

However, unlike Ella, Eric culturally identifies mostly as English.

BRAD.18 (...) my body is in blue to show that I'm more English than French (...) and hmm, and my body, to show that I am in England.

Case Study C: The Bertrand Family

Patrick has been living in the UK for 21 years and works as a physiotherapist. His wife, Laura, is a native English speaker, born in the UK. She is a full-time French teacher at a secondary school and describes her French as ‘near native-like’. They have two children: Alain 6, and Anne, 3.5, both born in England. When Alain was one year old, the family decided to move to France. However, due to Laura’s difficulty in finding employment there, they returned to the UK a year later, just before Alain’s second birthday. Alain’s young sister did not formally take part in the research as she was only 3.5 years old at the time. Nevertheless, the other family members mentioned Anne throughout their respective interviews, and she was present during the observation at the family home.

Family language practices

Patrick describes family conversations as being ‘always in French’ and ‘only in French’. He describes his language use as follow:

BERT.1 Quand je parle à Alain c'est, donc, à la maison c'est français, dans la rue, c'est français. Euh les devoirs sont en français. Le piano est en français. Quand il regarde la télé c'est en français (...) Dans toutes les situations où je suis là, c'est du français (...) Il n'y a pas un mot d'anglais.
When I speak to Alain, at home, it's in French, on the street, it's in French. Homework is in French. Piano is in French. When he watches TV, it's in French (...) In every situation where I am present, it's in French (...) There isn't a word of English.

As Patrick sums it up himself: ‘the home is French’. According to Patrick, interactions between Laura and the children are also in French, despite Laura being a native English speaker. However, Laura’s reported language practices indicate that she ‘occasionally’ uses English and does the children’s homework in the majority language. That said, Laura’s email interview did confirm the dominance of French in her interactions with Alain and Anne. As for the children’s language use, both parents reported that Alain and Anne spoke to them in French very frequently. During his interview, Alain was hesitant when asked about his daily language use, and changed his mind on two occasions:

BERT.2 *Interviewer: So now on this picture, you are doing homework with dad. What languages are you speaking while doing homework?
 *Alain: French

he attempts to speak English to his father, the latter reacts as follows: ‘Il se fâche. Il m’ignore’ (*He gets upset. He ignores me*). The fact that Alain, 6, was able to use the word ‘ignore’ in French might indicate that Patrick explained the reason of his behaviour to his son. Alternatively, he expressly asks his children to switch to HL. Patrick also reports implementing stricter methods in order to impose the use of French on his offspring. When the above-mentioned techniques fail, he ‘raises his voice’, ‘tell[s] them off’ or applies some form of punishment until the children have switched to the minority language. The sanctions are described by Patrick as ‘not too bad’ and can consist of taking a toy away or losing their bedtime story. Last, warnings or threats, such as the one described below, are used to discourage the use of English among the children.

BERT.9 Ce matin y avait un exemple au p'tit déjeuner [pause] Alain il commence à parler en anglais. J'ai dit non, une fois, non deux fois. Y avait un anniversaire cette après-midi, j'ai dit: “si tu continues, y a pas d'anniversaire.” Hop, c'est reparti en français.
This morning, for example, at breakfast [pause] Alain starts speaking English. I say no once, twice. There was a birthday party in the afternoon. I said: “if you continue, there’s no birthday this afternoon”. And done, it’s back to French.

Patrick also reports sometimes offering ‘a carrot’ as a language management strategy. He is referring to the phrase “carrot and stick” as a metaphor for the use of a combination of rewards and punishment to achieve his desired language choice. The rewards can be ‘a marble’, ‘a sweetie’ or an extra bedtime story in French.

According to Patrick, his wife Laura has ‘absolutely’ the same approach as he does but she is ‘much more creative [and] uses her teaching background to create nursery rhymes’. He also reports that she demands to be addressed as ‘maman’ and not ‘mummy’ in order to induce a systematic use of the French language by the children. However, two particular pieces of data suggest that Laura may be more flexible than her husband in her approach to FLP. In her email interview, she reports that the children ‘feel their father is a little too strict at times’. Another telling comment is the following response from Alain:

BERT.10 *Interviewer: Maman te dit quelle langue tu dois parler à la maison?
 Does mummy tell you what language you must speak at home?
 *Alain: Elle s'en fiche.
 She doesn’t care.

Patrick's language management involves a zero tolerance to translanguaging. Based on his approach, the family should function as a French monolingual entity within an English-speaking society. Although his version of the FLP is facilitated by Laura's high proficiency in and daily use of French, her somewhat less rigorous approach still allows for the existence of a bilingual context within the Bertrand's home.

A particular characteristic of Patrick's language management style is his approach to correcting his children's language errors. Linguistic prescription is an essential component of the Betrand's FLP, as he explains below:

BERT.11 Si je vois qu'ils essaient de parler français mais qu'ils font une erreur, je leur demande de le dire en anglais, je traduis en français et je les fais répéter en français (...) Je corrige toujours. Il y a toujours une correction derrière. Donc je les laisse pas faire. On évite un maximum de faire [pause] de laisser des fautes de français dans la conversation.
If they're trying to speak French but they are making a mistake, I ask them to say it in English, I translate into French and I have them repeat in French (...) I always correct, there's always some correction behind. So, I don't let them do as they wish. We avoid, as much as possible, to do [pause] to allow errors in the conversation.

Patrick's efforts to establish a monolingual context within the family also applies to their literacy practices. Both parents read the children bedtime stories mostly in the HL and French audio books 'are played in loop in the car'.

BERT.12 Les livres que l'on choisit sont en français. Je lis actuellement 'Le Petit Prince', de St Exupéry à Alain et Anne. Anne a du mal mais Alain commence à vraiment comprendre. On l'a en version disque dans la voiture. Il tourne en boucle.
The books we pick are in French. At the moment I'm reading Alain and Anne 'Le Petit Prince', by St Exupéry. Anne is struggling but Alain is starting to really understand. We have the audio version in the car. It's running continuously.

The father also explains that he has started to teach Alain how to read French 'by using the phonics he has learnt in English' and applying them to French texts.

BERT.13 Et je commence à le faire lire en français, en utilisant les phonics qu'il a appris en anglais, et j'essaie de les retrouver dans le français. Donc il est capable de commencer à lire certains gros titres en français. Et on fait ça au fur et à mesure. Que du français.
And I am starting to make him read in French, using the phonics he's learnt in English. And I try to apply them to French. So, he's able to read some titles in French. And we do that, little by little. It's French only.

English literacy is kept to ‘what [Alain] needs to do’ for his school homework, but ‘reading in English is not the goal’ of Patrick and Laura’s language management efforts. An exception is made if, for example, the children are tired, in which case, Laura will be the one reading a story in English because she is a ‘native’.

BERT.14 Maman parfois va lire un livre en anglais parce que son anglais est bien meilleur que le mien. Il reste natif. Mais le but n'est pas de lire en anglais. S'ils sont un peu fatigués, on lira une histoire en anglais, mais il y aura toujours au moins quelque chose en français.
Mum will sometimes read an English book because her English is much better than mine. It's her native language. But the goal isn't to read in English. If they are a little tired, we will read a story in English, but there will still be something in French.

Like many other parents in this study, Patrick perceives the French supplementary school as an essential complement to his language management at home. However, the linguistic aspect is not his main motivation for attending the weekend school, since he believes that ‘it’s not two hours of French on a Saturday morning that will do it’. For Patrick, the French school is an opportunity for his children to be exposed to other varieties of French, ‘to hear people speak French other than [their] father and mother, to maybe hear other accents, children’s voices, other adults, (...)’. Patrick sees the supplementary school as a cultural and linguistic network that provides his family with a sense of community. He reports experiencing difficulties in accessing French cultural events as he lives away from the capital and feels geographically isolated. According to him, the lack of a linguistic and cultural network outside the family is one of the reasons for his ‘somewhat strict’ language management at home. Last, according to Patrick, his children attend French school every weekend because they really enjoy it and ‘ask for it’. However, during his interview, Alain reports that the only aspect he enjoyed about French school is the chocolate snack his father gives him as an incentive.

Observed language practices & management

The recorded observation took place at the Bertrands’ home, at dinner time, over the weekend. The observed exchanges were consistent with parental reports of the family language practices. Patrick and Laura did not use any English during the entire recorded conversation. Alain spoke exclusively in the HL to his mother and father, except on one occasion where he code-mixed as he could not find the French term for ‘museum’.

Elements of the language management methods described by Patrick during the interview emerged during the observation. For instance, Laura and Patrick did not tolerate any use of English during the recorded interactions. Alain did not attempt to speak English. However, his younger sister, Anne, translanguaged on a few occasions. Her parents' negative response to her use of English was immediate and systematic, as shown in the conversation samples below.

BERT.16

*Anne: Papa, où est your glasses?

*Patrick (French father): Pardon? *Pardon?*

*Laura (British mother, fluent French speaker):
Où...? *Where...?*

*Anne: Où est hmm [pause] your lunettes? *Where is hmm*
[pause] your lunettes?

*Patrick: Où sont tes lunettes? Dans le salon. *Where are*
your glasses? In the living-room.

*Laura: Tu peux le dire Anne? 'Où...'
Can you say it Anne? 'Where....'

*Anne: Où... [hesitation] *'Where...[hesitation]*

*Patrick: [sounding irritated]. Anne, on dit 'Où sont tes
lunettes?'
Anne, we say 'Where are your glasses?

BERT.17 *Patrick (French father): Où est-ce qu'on est allé aujourd'hui les enfants? **Where did we go today children?**
 *Alain: Dans un *museum*.
 In a museum [using English word]
 *Patrick: Dans quoi?

- In what?**
 *Alain: Dans un museum.
In a museum [using English word]
 *Patrick: Comment on dit en français?
How do you say in French?
 *Laura (British mother, fluent French speaker):
 Au...?
To...?
 *Alain: Au musée de Roald Dahl. **To Roald Dahl museum.**
 *Patrick: Oui tu peux dire *au musée de Roald Dahl*.
Yes, you can say to Roald Dahl museum.

One element of Patrick's language management, which was not mentioned during the interviews, appeared during the observation. On two occasions, Laura attempts to correct the children's errors but is interrupted by Patrick who takes over the correction. In the example below, Patrick may have been dissatisfied with Laura's French as she appears to be transferring English features to her French sentence.

- BERT.18 *Laura (British mother, fluent French speaker):
 Et quelle était votre partie préférée?
And what was your favourite part?
 *Patrick (French father):
 Oui, qu'est-ce que vous avez préféré?
Yes, what did you like best?

Laura's question is a literal translation of the English 'What was your favourite part?', which would not be commonly used among French speakers. Patrick, as the minority-language parent, seems to be holding the role of the legitimate French linguistic model and authority within the family (Soler and Zabrodskaia, 2017). As he himself mentions, during his interview, Alain appears to comply with the French only rule at home. In the following sample, Alain appears to use language as a way to gain his father's approval.

- BERT.19 *Anne: Picture!
 *Patrick: Pardon?
 *Anne: Picture.
 *Patrick: Oui, c'est le premier mot que t'as dit en anglais.
Yes, that was the first word you said in English
 *Alain: En français c'est comme 'image'.
In French it's like 'image'.
 *Patrick: Comme 'image', tout à fait Alain.
It's 'image', absolutely Alain.
 *Alain: Mais en français.
But in French.
 *Patrick: Oui.
Yes.

His younger sister, on the other hand, seems to be more reluctant or simply less comfortable functioning in a monolingual context. She spontaneously uses English and cannot always find the correct word in French. Her use of the majority language seems to somewhat irritate her father who refers to her as a ‘hard head’ during the conversation. Overall, the observed family language practices and management of the Bertrands is very consistent with Patrick, Laura and Alain’s accounts.

Minority Language Parent’s Ideologies - Raising a bilingual child is...? - ‘challenging’ (Patrick)

Beliefs about Language Acquisition and Bilingualism

Patrick is part of the 8% of online participants who do not consider themselves bilingual, despite rating his level of English as ‘native-like’. He explains his response as follows:

BERT.20 Je me considère pas comme un bilingue. Même si je parle deux langues, ma première langue c'est le français. Alors qu'Alain et Anne, sont plus des bilingues pour moi.
I don’t consider myself bilingual. Even though I speak two languages, ma first language is French. Whereas, for me, Alain and Anne are more bilinguals.

Patrick makes a distinction between what linguists generally define as simultaneous bilinguals, who grew up acquiring two languages, and consecutive bilinguals, who started as monolinguals and learned or acquired a second language later in life (De Houwer, 2009). According to Patrick’s beliefs, consecutive bilinguals, like himself, are not ‘real’ bilinguals or at best, they are not bilingual to the same extent as simultaneous bilinguals such as his children. The notion of nativeness, reflected in his language management approach, is central to his language ideology. Patrick believes that in order to *qualify* as a bilingual, his English proficiency would have to match his French, in all linguistic aspects, as described in his comment below:

BERT.21 Moi je me sens, autant je parle bien l'anglais, autant c'est pas, ça reste pas forcément, même après 20 ans, ça reste pas forcément naturel. C'est à dire que si j'suis dans un univers en français, je me sens beaucoup plus à l'aise en français, toujours, qu'en anglais. Si je devais, euh, 100% en français, ce sera du 100%, mais en anglais ce sera du 90%. Et il me manque toujours quelque chose, l'accent n'est pas forcément bon, parfois je vais faire une petite faute de grammaire, même si elle est minime.

I feel, although I speak English well (...) it's still not necessarily, even after 20 years, it doesn't necessarily come naturally. It means that if I'm in a French environment, I always feel much more at ease in French than in English. If I have to give, euh, 100% in French, it will be 100%, but in English, it will be 90%. And I'm always missing something, the accent isn't always good, sometimes I'll make a small grammatical error, even if it's minimal.

Patrick's distinction between his language experience and his children's also justifies his approach to translanguaging. As a non-bilingual, whose first language remains French, Patrick believes that translanguaging does not come naturally to him, hence his 'orthodox' language practices and the fact that he speaks 'either English with the English [and] French with the French'. However, he strongly believes that for 'real bilinguals' like Alain and Anne, translanguaging is a natural phenomenon. He explains that 'to them, having two languages is normal' and that they 'can move from one language to the other with ease'. He adds that translanguaging 'helps [the children] with their learning'. Patrick's positive perception of translanguaging is, therefore, in contradiction with the very language separation rules he imposes at home. While being part of the 65% of respondents who see translanguaging as natural, Patrick thinks that it should still be avoided due to the dominance of the majority language. The father believes that given children's natural tendency to speak English, translanguaging would further encourage the use of the majority language, at the expense of the HL. Patrick's language management is an attempt to create 'an automatic reflex, a mechanism, so that when they're with dad, it's only in French'. He reports feeling uncomfortable about 'letting [the children] do as they wish' (i.e. translanguaging) because they have not yet acquired 'solid foundations in French'.

Heritage Language Expectations

Patrick's prescriptive approach to language and strictly monolingual policy go hand in hand with high expectations of his offspring's HL proficiency. He declares that he expects his children to be 'completely bilingual': Alain and Anne should be able to 'read [French], write it, and speak it as well as [their father]'. Patrick's goal is, therefore, for the children to become balanced bilinguals and to match their father's native proficiency, which he uses as a benchmark.

Like Rachel, in Case Study A, Patrick believes that placing the bar high is the only way to achieve acceptable results.

BERT.22 Si je vise pas à ce niveau-là, ce sera médiocre. Donc je pense que si on arrive à avoir disons 90% ce sera déjà très bien (...) Les attentes sont

très très élevées. Tout ce que je peux obtenir, j'essaierai de l'obtenir. 100% c'est peut-être pas réaliste. Mais de pouvoir le lire sans problème, le parler sans problème et tout comprendre. Pouvoir aller chez le cousin et parler français, s'amuser à lire un livre en français, rigoler sur un film en français sans se poser des questions et être juste un petit peu abruti par les images [= laughter].

If I don't target that level, the result will be mediocre. So, if we can get, let's say, 90%, that will already be very good (...) The expectations are very high. I take everything I can get.

100% may not be realistic. But being to read it easily, to speak it and understand everything. Being to go to their cousin and play in French, to read a book in French, to laugh about a film in French without asking questions and just being clueless in front of the images [= laughter].

While Patrick's expectations are very high, he does mention the fact that his children's lower level of exposure to the minority language must be taken into account. In response, he adopts a rather mathematical approach to the problem, according to which a certain amount of input would translate directly into a particular level of proficiency.

BERT.23

C'est marrant parce que j'ai une sorte de pourcentage en fait. Euh je crois qu'ils sont exposés à 80% d'anglais et 20% de français, dans la journée. Comme à la maison ce n'est que du français, du retour de l'école à 5h jusqu'au coucher, ce n'est que du français, donc il y a au moins trois ou quatre heures de français dans la journée. Le weekend, c'est français. Donc, mais je pense qu'il y aura donc, si leur niveau est à 100% en anglais, il sera à 85 ou 90% en français.

It's funny because I've actually got some sort of percentage. Euh I believe that they are exposed to 80% of English and 20% of French in a day. Since at home it's only French, back from school at 5pm until bedtime, it's French only. So, there are at least three or four hours of French in the day. On the weekend, it's French. So, I think that there'll be, if their level is at 100% in English, it'll be at 85 or 90% in French.

Parental Motivations for Developing Children's HL

Patrick's efforts to encourage the use of French at home is motivated by two main ideas. First, he would like to pass on his cultural heritage to his children because 'they are half French'. He sees language as a vehicle for understanding a country's culture and one's family history.

BERT.24

Parce que ça fait partie de [pause] c'est ma culture. Ils sont à moitié français et euh la langue c'est l'élément principal de la culture d'un pays. Dans ce cas-là c'est la France et le français (...) Et non pas seulement sur la langue mais sur aussi la culture, sur ce qui se passe, qui sont les

grands-parents, où ils sont enterrés, pourquoi ils ont fait ci, pourquoi ils ont fait ça. Donc, et la littérature aussi.

Because it's part of [pause] it's my culture. They are half-French and euh language is the main element in a country's culture. So, in our case it's France and French (...) And not only the language but the culture, what is going on, who the grandparents are, where they were buried, why they did this, why they did that. And the literature too.

Patrick's effort to promote French within the family also reveals his preference for the French way of life, which he seems to find more appealing than the English culture. For example, he explains that going to French school on Saturdays allows them to be active and 'not be glued to the television, which is something very English'.

BERT.25 Je dois reconnaître qu'avec tout ce qu'il se passe, ce dont on a parlé (*referring to a pre-interview conversation about Brexit*), on met encore plus l'accent sur l'aspect français. Hier par exemple on a cuisiné ensemble, on a coupé les oignons ensemble, on a fait la bolognaise ensemble, mais pas la version anglaise, avec la Worcester sauce avec du sucre dedans [= laughter]. On a fait la version franco-italienne et il a pu la manger après.

I must admit that with everything that's going on, which we talked about (referring to a pre-interview conversation about Brexit), I insist even more on French. Yesterday, for example, we cooked together. We cut the onions, we made the bolognaise together, but not the English version with the Worcester sauce with sugar in it [= laughter]. We made the Franco-Italian version and then he ate it.

Another important motivation expressed by Patrick is the idea of maximising children's learning potential during the first few years of life.

BERT.26 C'est à cet âge-là qu'ils sont capables d'absorber, entre 0 et 7 ans. Le développement neurologique ça se fait à cet âge-là. Et c'est pour ça que l'apprentissage de la langue, du français et de l'anglais, je suis sûr leur permettra ensuite de mieux apprendre les langues, et de mieux apprendre en général. Et l'apprentissage se fait tôt, pas à 15 ans. C'est maintenant, entre 1 et 7 ou 8 ans. Ce qu'ils vont acquérir maintenant, ça les aidera. Si on, on lâche du mou, ils vont être à la masse pendant des années et des années.

It's at that age that they are capable of absorbing, between 0 and 7 years old. The neurological development happens at that age. That's why I am sure that acquiring language, French and English, will help them better learn languages later, and better learn in general. And the learning happens early, not at 15. It's now, between 1 and 7 or 8 years old. What they acquire now will help them. If one lets go, they'll lag behind for years and years.

Patrick's concept of an optimum window of opportunity for children's language development relates to the well-known Critical Period Hypothesis, according to which the 'language making capacity' is accessible only during a limited age period (Meisel, 2008). Patrick's idea of a *critical period* does not only apply to linguistic skills but to other disciplines, such as music, about which he declares that one must learn as early as possible in order 'to develop a musical ear'. Alain, therefore, like his father, started learning the piano at age five. Patrick also mentions that he would like his children to learn a third language and has been looking for Mandarin lessons in their area. His endeavour to maximise his children's learning potential has been described by some scholars as 'hyper-parenting', which is the 'management of children's lives in pursuit of child success as a measure of parental achievement' (Piller, 2005).

Overall, Patrick appears to be aware of the rigidity of his approach and mentions that 'he might be too demanding' and 'excessively strict', but he is also convinced that his rigorous language management style is necessary to achieve his goals and he declares: 'Ça fait peut-être un p'tit peu facho mais c'est la seule façon' (*I sound a little like a fascist but it's the only way*).

Non-French Parent's Approach to Bilingual Childrearing

In her email interview, Laura confirmed speaking 'mostly French' to her children and using English only 'if it seem[ed] rude for English speakers not to understand' or 'for homework because the homework is in English'. She also reports being on board with her husband's *French only* approach.

BERT.27 We discussed it and agreed that the children needed French to fully understand their bi-national identities so we speak French all together at home. Even though my native language is English, speaking French at home wouldn't work so well if I spoke English to the children.

Laura believes that it is important for her to speak French at home in order to create a monolingual environment for the family. Speaking English, her native language, to the children, would disrupt the family language plan. Laura also shares Patrick's high language expectations:

BERT.28 We both believe that practice makes perfect. it is language acquisition. Not just talking but reading and listening to French too.

The importance of practice and repetition, as well as high expectations in all linguistic skills are common features of Laura and Patrick's reported approaches. However, in his interview, Alain reports that his mother 'does not care' whether he speaks French or English, which suggests that Laura might have a more flexible attitude than her husband. To email interview question 7 (*If you and your spouse/partner have disagreements about the family's approach, please describe how these are resolved*), Laura responded that the question was 'non-applicable'. This question generated similar responses as Laura's among all six British parents in the study, suggesting that participants may have found the inquiry too personal or intrusive.

Parental Perception of children's language attitudes

According to Patrick, Alain has a positive attitude towards French despite the fact that 'he is sometimes not happy about being asked to speak French'.

BERT.29 Je pense qu'il aime, je pense qu'il aime. Je pense pas qu'il soit très content parfois quand on dit qu'il faut parler français. Mais il est très réceptif (...) Je pense pas qu'il ait de blocage. Et il parle très facilement en français. Je pense pas qu'il y ait de problèmes là-dessus.
I think he likes it, I think he likes it. I think that he's not always happy about being asked to speak French. But he's very receptive (...) I don't think he's got a mental block about this. And he speaks French with ease. I don't think there are any issues here.

Patrick reports that although his son may sometimes see him as le 'Père fouettard' (Father Whipper), due to his strict language management, he still experiences bilingualism positively. He also explains that Alain particularly enjoys being read to in the HL and feels 'proud to be able to speak French at school'. Patrick 'regularly remind[s] [Alain] that having this language is a great advantage'. As previously mentioned, Laura also reports that Alain sometimes find his father's rules 'too strict', but that 'generally, [the children] understand that it is for their own good'. She does not think that the FLP affects her and Patrick's relationship with the children and that to them, 'this is simply how they speak with Maman and Papa.'

Alain's Attitudes towards the HL and Parental Language Management.

Alain reports enjoying speaking the minority language at home and feeling proud 'because everyone wants to speak French at school'. While his sense of pride may have been promoted by parental discourse, he appears to genuinely enjoy feeling special during the French lessons at school.

BERT.30 They want me to do more. Because I am the assistant of the French teacher because I am the only one who speaks [= hesitation] who knows how to speak all the French.

During the interview, Alain also declares that he has a preference for French over English. When asked what he liked about speaking two languages, he responded:

BERT.31 You can go to...[pause] other hmm cities and where they cannot speak English. And it's good to speak other languages.

In his answer, Alain appears to be paraphrasing his father who declared that he 'regularly remind[s] [him] that having this language is a great advantage'. Alain's direct response to whether he enjoys speaking French indicates that he has a positive attitude towards his heritage language. However, other elements in his interview suggest otherwise. First, despite reporting having a preference for French, and although he was explicitly given the choice, Alain decided to have the interview in English (he did switch to French on a few occasions). Secondly, he declared that, as a grown up, he would not choose to speak French to his children.

BERT.32 *Interviewer: Et quand tu seras un papa, tu apprendras le français à tes enfants?
 And when you are a dad, will you teach French to your children?
 *Alain: Euh non.
 Euh no.
 * Interviewer: Pourquoi?
 Why not?
 * Alain: Ça prend trop de temps.
 It takes too much time.

Whilst Alain seems to enjoy certain aspects of his heritage language and culture, he also appears to be experiencing bilingualism as a laborious task. His negative perception of HL acquisition seems to emanate from his father's rigorous and demanding language policy. Besides, Alain's comments below suggest that he may be experiencing some degree of HL anxiety.

BERT.33 * Interviewer: [Daddy] wants to speak French with you. Can you show me how you feel? (*the participant pointed at the sad/anxious facial expression*).
 Ok. Can you tell me why you feel this way?
 *Alain: Because I'm a bit not sure what he's gonna say.
 *Interviewer: Can you explain?
 *Alain: Hmm I don't really know what it means.

*Interviewer: You don't know what it means?
*Alain: Because hmm I am not sure what he is gonna say.

Alain expressed being anxious about not understanding what his father might tell him in French. His language anxiety may be associated with Patrick's expectations of his son's proficiency in the HL. Such high standards seem to have created in Alain, not only language anxiety, but a feeling of insecurity about his language skills, as demonstrated by these two interview samples:

BERT.34

*Alain: I am the assistant of the French teacher because I am the only one who speaks [hesitation] who knows how to speak all the French.

* Interviewer: How do you feel about that?

*Alain: Happy. But my daddy knows more than me.

* Interviewer: How do you feel about reading French books with mummy and daddy?
(the participant pointed at the sad/anxious facial expression)
Why?

* Alain: Because I don't know how to do it.

As previously mentioned, one of Patrick's techniques to promote the use of French at home is to ignore the children when they address him in English. Alain reports feeling 'sad, and a little angry too' when being ignored by his father due his language choices. As regards Patrick's explicit rule to speak French at all times, Alain made the following comments:

BERT.35

*Alain: Ça me dérange un peu.
It bothers me a little.

*Interviewer: Ok. Un peu
Ok. A little.

*Alain: Moyen
Medium.

*Interviewer: Ça te fait sentir comment?
How does it make you feel?

*Alain: Je sais pas. Pas bien.
I don't know. Not good.

Alain is careful not to make overly negative comments about his father's behaviour. That said, his responses clearly reflect a negative attitude towards Patrick's language management choices. However, this negative perception does not often translate into

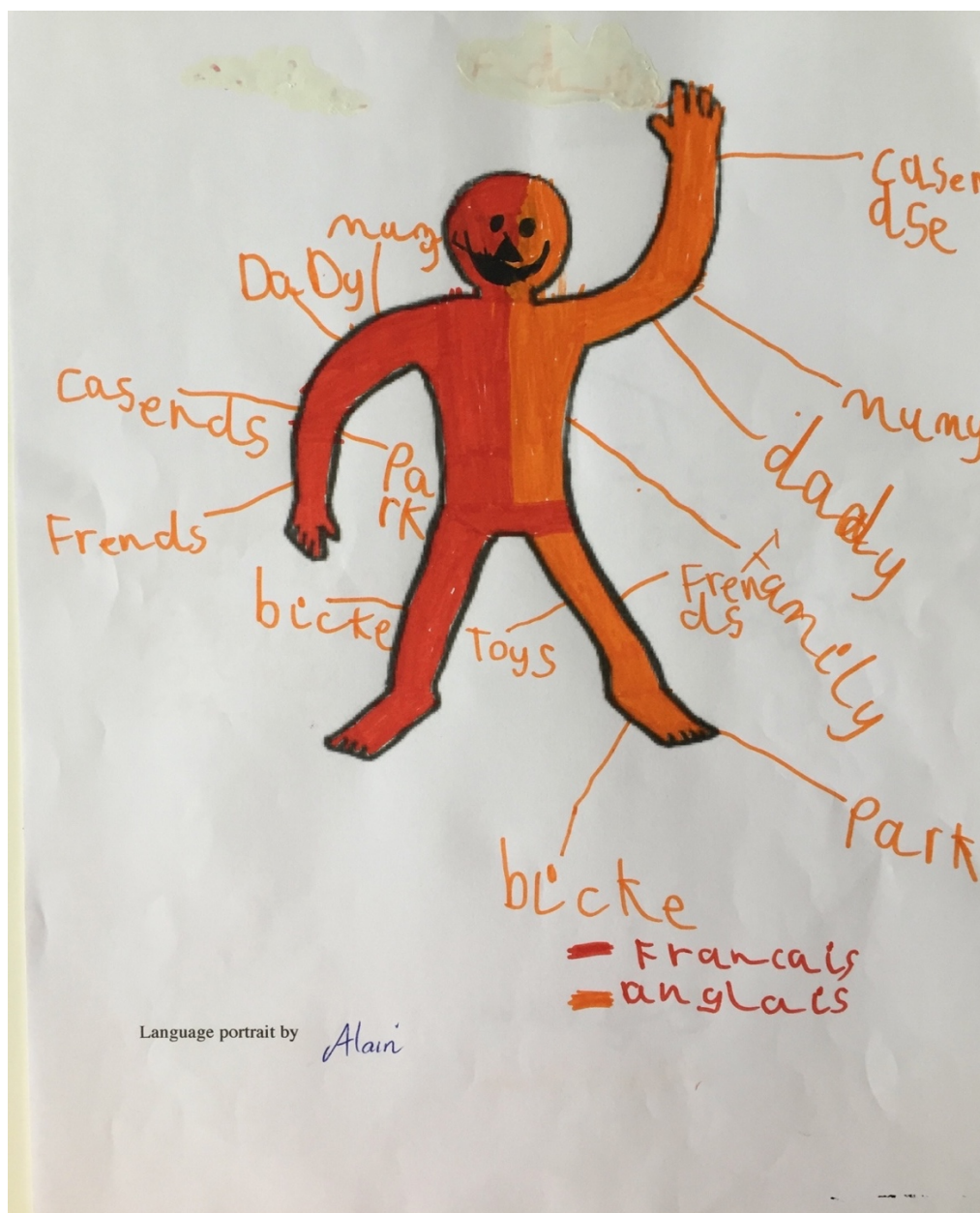
action. When being told off for speaking English, Alain describes his reaction as follows:

BERT.36

- *Interviewer: Et si à la maison tu te fait gronder quand tu parles anglais, quelle est ta réaction? Tu fais quoi?
And at home, if you get told off for speaking English, how do you react? What do you do?
- *Alain: J'ai juste [pause] écoute.
I just [pause] listen.
- * Interviewer: Tu changes, et parles français?
You switch, and speak French?
- * Alain: Oui.
Yes
- * Interviewer: Pourquoi?
Why?
- * Alain: Parce que hmm j'aime parler français et je pense qu'il a dit "parle français".
Because hmm I like speaking French and I think he's told me « speak French ».
- * Interviewer: Et des fois tu refuses?
Do you sometimes refuse?
- * Alain: Non, je dis pas ça.
No, I don't say that.

Alain's negative attitudes towards his father's language rules are not always visible nor obvious since he does not rebel against them. This could explain why both Patrick and Laura believe that their FLP has no negative impact on their relationships with the children.

Figure 13: Alain's Language Portrait



Alain produced a portrait in which red (for French) and orange (for English) are well delimited. However, the captions on each side of the silhouette are identical, suggesting that Alain found it difficult to demarcate his experiences with each language.

BERT.37

Y a les même mots des deux côtés, parce que je pense que ça c'était bien je pense, les deux c'est pareil, je savais pas comment faire d'autres choses.

There are the same words on both sides, because, I think, that was good, I think, both are the same, I didn't know how to do it in a different way.

The comment, above, gives a precious insight into how Alain experiences his various linguistic and cultural influences as all entwined in his daily experiences and how he would struggle to separate and categorise them.

Alain's portrait also reveals that English is still present in the family home despite his father's rigorous French only policy.

BERT.38 *Interviewer: Why is there some red on the orange side?
 *Alain: Parce que on parle français avec un peu l'anglais aussi.
 Because we speak French with a little bit of English too.

Case Study D: The Wheeler Family

Mathilde is a French native speaker who has been living in the UK for the past 27 years. She first came to England on a one-year programme to study business. She later decided to stay in the UK for a longer period of time and retrained as a teacher. Mathilde recently left her French teacher's position and is currently considering her professional options. During her studies, she met her husband, Gareth. Gareth is English and describes his French skills as 'very basic' and 'poor'. Their only child, John, is six and was born in Britain. John dreams of becoming a zoologist and his passion for the animal world is mentioned on many occasions during the observations and throughout his interview.

Family language practices

Mathilde reports using mostly French, with her son, during one-to-one interactions at home. In public spaces, however, she speaks mostly English 'or maybe softly in French in the ear' because 'many people could be mistaken about [their] conversations.' When the three family members are present, English dominates the conversation, and Mathilde will use a mix of French and English to address her son. Gareth reports speaking French very rarely. As regards John's language choices, his mother explains that they vary depending on the environment and on his emotional states, as described in the two interview samples below.

WHEEL.1 Il va me répondre en français ou en anglais (...) Et je crois que la différence c'est quand on revient de France, lui il va me parler français automatiquement. Et puis au fur et à mesure qu'on reste plus longtemps en Angleterre, il va me répondre en anglais.
He'll respond to me in French or in English (...) And I think that what makes the difference is when we come back from France, he'll automatically speak French to me. And then, the longer we stay in England, the more he'll respond in English.

WHEEL.1 *Interviewer: A quel moment va-t-il te parler français?
In what situation does he speak French to you?
*Mathilde: Alors euh [thinking] le soir, le matin, la nuit, quand euh, quand il a besoin, quand on revient à la naissance, quand on revient à ses besoins primaires en fait. Euh donc, quand il veut quelque chose, quand il veut me flatter, quand il me dit j'suis belle [laughter]. Donc tout ça c'est en français, voilà. Quand il est pas content avec moi, c'est plus anglais. Voilà.
So euh [thinking] in the evening, in the morning, at night, when euh, when he's needy, when he's taken back to birth, when we get back to his primary needs

John's account of family language use is consistent with his mother's. Mathilde also reports translanguaging very frequently when addressing John, as she describes below:

The mother's translanguaging practices also occur during her conversations with other bilingual adults.

In contrast, John declares that he rarely mixes languages, which is consistent with his mother's report.

As regards literacy practices, the family borrows ‘five to six books a week’ from the supplementary school library. John and Mathilde routinely read in French once a

week 'because he's got a lot to do and he's not even seven'. John also receives a monthly French magazine about nature.

French Parent's Language Management Approach.

Considering the language practices described above, the Wheeler family interacts within a bilingual context due to Mathilde's high tolerance to translanguaging. In order to encourage the use of French in her conversations with John, she uses two main approaches: the 'adult repetition' and the 'move-on strategy' (Lanza, 1997). In the adult repetition method, the adult repeats the child's utterance in the minority language. Mathilde describes her strategy as follow:

WHEEL.5 S'il veut me raconter quelque chose qui s'est passé à l'école, ben il a pas forcément le vocabulaire pour, pour essayer de l'exprimer en français. Donc moi c'que je fais, je le répète, comme font les anglais, pour les tous petits, on répète la langue anglaise, et ben je fais pareil en français. Il va me le dire en anglais, et je vais dire "ah bon, c'est c'que tu as fait à l'école aujourd'hui ?!", par exemple, "tu t'es fâché avec ton petit copain?". Donc je lui donne le vocabulaire.

If he wants to tell me about something that has happened at school, then he doesn't always have the vocabulary to, to try and say it in French. So, what I do, I repeat it, the way the English do it for little ones, they repeat it in English, well, I do the same in French. He'll tell me in English, and I'll say: "Oh really, you did that at school today?!" For example, "You've fallen out with your friend?". This way, I give him the vocabulary.

Mathilde's repetition strategy allows for the interaction to continue, while providing an input in the minority language. The conversation flow remains uninterrupted since she does not ask her son to repeat his utterance in French. She believes that asking her child to repeat a sentence in the HL would be 'too laborious'. In her description, Mathilde compares her son's acquisition of French to the acquisition of English 'by little ones'. She explains that parents, in England, often repeat a young child's sentence in order to provide the correct linguistic model, without offering an explicit correction. Mathilde's other strategy, the 'move-on' strategy, also maintains the conversation flow as 'the adult does not intervene and lets the conversation take its course.' (Lanza, 1997).

As regards her approach to error correction, Mathilde's method is straightforward, as she describes below.

- WHEEL.6 S'il fait des fautes je le corrige pas, ou je le corrige mais gentiment. Moi j'en fais donc...Le but c'est d'établir la communication.
If he makes any errors, I don't correct him, or I correct him but very nicely. I make errors myself, so...The goal is to establish communication.

Mathilde's language management style is clearly orientated towards prioritising language production over linguistic correctness. Her focus on language acquisition through communication includes connections outside the nuclear family. She explains that she encourages John to use French by organising Skype conversations with his grandmother and spending time with his cousins in France.

As far as HL literacy is concerned, John and his mother read French books once a week. However, Mathilde is flexible and will adjust the activities depending on the circumstance.

- WHEEL.7 Je vois quand ça passe pas, ça passe pas. Là ce matin il a pas voulu lire parce qu'il était fatigué. J'ai dit: "Bon, on va chanter *Vive le vent*, comme il doit l'apprendre pour le spectacle de Noel [laughter].
I can tell when he doesn't want it, he doesn't want it. For example, this morning, he didn't want to read because he was tired. I said: "Alright, let's sing 'Vive le vent' (Christmas song), since he had to learn it for the Christmas performance [laughter].

Last, the French supplementary school is part of the Wheeler's parental language management. Mathilde reports using the Saturday school essentially because 'teaching one's own children is very difficult'. To a lesser extent, Mathilde sees the supplementary school as an opportunity for John to communicate in French with children of the same age. However, she regrets the fact that since 'they are in the classroom, communication between the children is reduced (...) [and] it is always from the adult to the child'.

Observed Language Practices & Management

The observed interaction took place at the Wheeler's home, during a family meal. Both the minority and the majority languages were used during the recorded conversation. Mathilde spoke mostly French and barely used any English although she reported translanguaging very frequently, in her interview. Gareth, who had declared that he spoke French very rarely, did use mostly French during the interaction, although his utterances remained limited to short and simple sentences. Mathilde and Gareth's language choices, on that particular occasion, may have been

influenced by the presence of the observer. Below are two examples of Gareth's use of French.

- WHEEL.8
- *Mathilde (French mother):
Les babouins mangent des escargots?
Baboons eat snails?
- *John: Ouais. ***Yeah.***
- *Mathilde: Mais ils mangent aussi la coquille alors? ***So, they eat the shell too?***
- *John: Non. Pas la coquille. Le, *slug*. ***No, not the shell. The slug [using English words]***
- *Mathilde: Juste la limace? ***Only the slug?***
- *Gareth (British Father, basic French skills):
Hmm la limace. ***Hmm the slug.***
- *John: Ouais, la limace [making growling noise] ***Yeah, the slug.***
-
- *Mathilde (French mother):
Au fait, tout a l'heure, on parlait des grains de beauté.
Tu crois que les animaux ils ont en des grains de beauté?
By the way, earlier we were speaking about moles. Do you think animals have moles?
- *John: Non. [long pause] Maybe Chimpanzees, or gorillas.
They're the closest relatives to us really. Although the closest is the chimpanzees, the bonobo.
- *Gareth (British Father, basic French skills):
Les singes? ***Monkeys?***
- *Mathilde: Ouais. Je me souviens on avait vu des bonobos, ils avaient des grains de beauté sur la peau. ***Yeah. I remember that we saw bonobos with moles on their skin.***

As described in the previous section, Gareth reported that he could not contribute to his son's acquisition of French due to his 'poor' and non-native like skills in the language. However, his efforts to use basic sentences or even single words in French does seem to have an impact on John's language choices. For instance, in the first interaction sample above, Gareth's use of the word *limace* (slug) in French, appears to contribute to John's subsequent utterance in French ('*Ouais, la limace*'). Gareth's nodding or signalling that he is able to follow the exchange in the minority language allows the family to pursue the conversation without switching to English, as demonstrated in the extract below.

- WHEEL.9
- *Mathilde (French mother):
Le poster tu veux le mettre où? Là, comme ça?

- Where do you want the poster? There, this way?***
- *John: No, a bit higher.
- *Gareth (British Father, basic French skills): Ah oui. ***Oh yes.***
- *John: Plus haut. ***Higher.***
- *Mathilde: Mais là tu pourras pas le lire. ***But there, you won't be able to read it.***
- *John: C'est pas grave. ***It's alright.***

As reported in Mathilde and John's respective interviews, John appeared to be naturally going back and forth between French and English depending on the topics and the context. It appears that, overall, his French utterances tend to remain relatively simple whereas he uses English for more complex sentences. In the first conversation extract below, John starts his response in French but rapidly switches to English as he needs to further elaborate his thoughts. In the second sample, John's sentence remains relatively simple and he is able to express himself in the minority language.

- WHEEL.10 *Mathilde: Tu crois que les animaux ils ont en des grains de beauté?
- *John: ***Do you think animals have moles?***
Non. [long pause] Maybe Chimpanzees, or gorillas. They're the closest relatives to us really. Although the closest is the chimpanzees, the bonobo.
- *John: Elle dit elle a un livre, y en [hesitation] y en a [pause], hmm, y en a tous les animaux. Et c'est pas vrai.
She says she has a book, there are [hesitation], there are, hmm, there are all the animals. It's not true.
- *Mathilde: OK.
- *John: Et aussi, elle dit que les babouins, euh, ils mangent les escargots. Hmm c'est vrai. ***And also, she says that baboons, euh, they eat snails. Hmm it's true.***

In the observed conversations, some of Mathilde's reported language management methods appeared clearly. The Wheeler FLP creates a bilingual environment where both the majority and the minority languages are used within the same interaction without disrupting the flow of conversation. This is achieved mainly through Mathilde's use of the 'move-on' and 'adult repetition' strategies (Lanza, 1997) described previously (see previous section). In the example below, John responds to Mathilde's French utterance using English and Mathilde simply 'moves-on'.

- WHEEL.11 *Mathilde: Tu sais que, tu sais qu'aujourd'hui C and E (friends of John's) vont faire du patin à roulettes?
Do you know that today, C & E (friends of John's) are going roller skating?
- *John: Ouais. J'en veux pas. ***Yeah. I don't want it.***
- *Mathilde: Tu veux pas y aller? ***You don't want to go?***
- *John: I keep on skidding and I don't like it. I keep on skidding, so, I just don't like it.
- *Mathilde: Ben ça serait peut-être une opportunité d'apprendre, non?
Well perhaps that could be an opportunity for you to learn, don't you think?

The observed language practices were also coherent with Mathilde's reported approach to correcting language errors. At no point was the conversation interrupted in order to provide feedback on John's language correctness nor to make metalinguistic comments. In the extract below, Mathilde and John are wondering whether their home digital personal assistant (Alexa) could answer in French instead of English.

- WHEEL.12 *Mathilde: Tu crois qu'Alexa elle parle en français?
Do you think Alexa speaks French?
- *John: Hmm peut-être. On peut essayer?
Hmm maybe. Can we try?
 (...) Je peux le faire moi? ***Can I do it?***
- *Mathilde: Ouais. Alors qu'est ce que tu vas dire d'abord? (...) ***Yeah. But first, what are you going to say? (...)***
- *John: Ok. Comment tu dis: "*what's the weather like?*"
Ok. How do you say: "what's the weather like?"
- *Mathilde: Ah ton avis? ***What do you think?***
- *John: C'est quoi le temps?
- *Mathilde: D'accord, on va essayer comme ca. ***Ok. Let's try that.***
- *John: [asking Alexia] C'est quoi le temps aujourd'hui?

In the conversation sample above, despite John's inaccurate translation of "what is the weather like", Mathilde reacts in a positive way to his attempt to speak the HL and does not provide any correction. On other occasions where John was struggling to construct grammatically correct sentences and was groping for words, his mother did not intervene to assist him.

- WHEEL.13 *John: Elle dit elle a un livre, y en [hesitation] y en a [pause],
 hmm, y en a tous les animaux.
She says she has a book, there are euh [hesitation], there are, hmm, there are all the animals.
- *Mathilde: OK.

Minority Language Parent's Ideologies -Raising a bilingual child is...? -It's [pause], 'it's easy.' (Mathilde)

Beliefs about language acquisition and bilingualism

Mathilde provides a concrete metaphor to explain how she perceives the processes of language learning and language acquisition.

- WHEEL.14 Ben pour moi, en fait, c'est, le cerveau c'est comme une énorme pièce, et, comme une bibliothèque en fait, où t'as tout un tas d'informations et puis, ben les langues c'est simplement une forme d'information - c'est-à-dire ce qu'on sait dans une langue. Je pense qu'il y a deux choses: l'apprentissage de la langue grammaticale, du parler; et après il y a la connaissance des choses dans cette langue-là.
For me, it actually is, the brain is like a huge room, and, like a library actually, where you have a whole lot of information, and then, well, languages are simply one form of information -that is, what one knows in one language. I think that there are two things: learning the grammar of the language, the speaking skills; And then there is the knowledge of things in that language.

For Mathilde, mastering the grammar of a language is only one aspect of language acquisition. She believes that 'reasoning skills' are also necessary in order to 'think' and understand concepts in the language in question. This approach is the reason why she subscribed John to a monthly French nature magazine, so that he can acquire 'knowledge in French'. Her description of the brain with the 'library' analogy also indicates that she perceives knowledge, including languages, as strictly compartmentalised. She further describes the brain as containing a number of 'drawers', and 'at some point, one needs to select: what do I speak? Where?'

Although Mathilde favours a relaxed FLP with a high tolerance to translanguaging, her idea of languages as autonomous systems in the brain is consistent with the popular monoglossic approach to bilingualism (Gafaranga, 2000; Flores and Schissel, 2014). However, Mathilde also has a very positive perception of translanguaging. She declares:

- WHEEL.15 C'est une bonne chose dans le sens où on n'interrompt pas la conversation. Au niveau communication, c'est pas un problème puisque tout le monde comprend.
It is a good thing in a sense that the conversation is not interrupted. As far as communication is concerned, it's not a problem since everyone understands.

As mentioned in the previous section, Mathilde reports translanguaging very frequently with her son and her bilingual friends. She also believes, however, that in

order to help John develop his HL, she should ‘speak more French’ and avoid code-switching. These ideas relate to the answers of many online respondents (see online survey results in previous section) who do perceive translanguaging as natural and/or beneficial but who also believe that it should be avoided in order to counterbalance the lack of HL exposure.

That said, Mathilde distinguishes between an ‘ideal’ language policy and the daily experiences of childhood bilingualism, hence her choice to adopt a more relaxed language management style.

- WHEEL.16
- *Interviewer: (...) Tu penses que tu devrais mélanger les langues quand tu parles à ton enfant?
(...) Do you think that you should mix languages when speaking to your child?
- *Mathilde: Dans l'idéal non. Je pense même que dans l'idéal je devrais plus lui parler en français. Mais en même temps [sigh] faut pas non plus que ça soit euh [hesitation] comment tu dis, a chore?
Ideally, no. I even think that, ideally, I should speak more French to him. But at the same time [sigh] it can't be a [hesitation] how do you say 'a chore'?
- *Interviewer: Une corvée? *(French equivalent for 'chore')*
- *Mathilde: Une corvée, voilà. Parce que si ça devient une corvée c'est pas bon.
A chore, that's it. Because if it becomes a chore, that's not good.

According to Mathilde, a relaxed FLP is necessary to make the minority language acquisition process a ‘natural’ and ‘pleasant’ experience. In order to achieve this goal, she puts the emphasis on communication with friends and relatives rather than the language itself.

Heritage Language Expectations

Mathilde declares being satisfied with John's proficiency in French. She does not have any specific expectations but simply believes that his French will be 'good' and that he will be able to read it. She perceives writing skills as more difficult to acquire and 'dependent on the work they do together at home.' Overall, Mathilde feels responsible for 'giving [John] access' to the acquisition of French rather than achieving a certain level of proficiency. She describes her role as follows:

- WHEEL.17 lui donner la possibilité justement de développer cette langue, avec l'écrit, l'oral, la compréhension et puis euh la lecture. Euh donc, de

l'emmener au club le samedi matin, de lui faire lire des livres, des magazines comme Wakou, qu'il ait au moins cet accès là. Euh [pause] et aussi de l'emmener en France le plus possible.

Giving him the possibility to develop this language, through writing, speaking and comprehension, and euh reading. So, taking him to the club on Saturday morning, and make him read books, magazines such as Wakou, so that he, at least, has access to it. Euh [pause] and also taking him to France as much as possible.

Parental Motivations for Developing Children's HL

Mathilde declares placing high importance on her child's acquisition of French because it is 'an asset' and 'an opportunity'.

WHEEL.18 * Interviewer: C'est important pour toi quoi qu'il apprenne le français?

Is it important to you that he learns French?

* Mathilde: Bien-sûr, oui. Mais c'est pas parce que je suis nationaliste ou quoi. Je pense que c'est un atout. C'est une chance. Pourquoi gaspiller cette chance? Ça peut pas être *detrimental*. Au contraire, avec Brexit y a plus personne qui va pouvoir parler anglais [laughter]. (...) Bon c'est un savoir qu'on a, il faut le passer. Si je savais faire du jet ski, j'lui apprendrais à faire du jet ski. C'est passer ta connaissance. Voilà.

Of course, yes. But it's not that I am a nationalist or anything. I think that it is an asset. It's an opportunity. Why waste this opportunity? It can't be detrimental. Quite the opposite, with Brexit no one will be able to speak English any more [laughter].

(...) Well, if one has some knowledge, one has to pass it on. If I knew how to jet ski, I'd teach him how to jet ski. It's about passing on knowledge. That's all.

To Mathilde, bilingualism relates to 'good parenting' (King and Fogle 2006) in a sense that it is parents' responsibility to transmit valuable knowledge or skills to the younger generation.

However, transmitting part of her cultural identity to her offspring, a commonly reported parental motivation in the literature (Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009; Nesteruk, 2010; Rasinger, 2013) is not Mathilde's main incentive. In the following interview extract, she reports that she 'do[es] not feel French' and does not feel attached to French culture.

WHEEL.19 *Mathilde: Ca fait 27 ans que j'habite ici, j'ai grandi en tant qu'adulte ici. Euh, je me sens pas forcément anglaise, mais je me sens pas française non plus. Tu vois je suis pas une expat, dans le sens où je retourne pas en France

- pour acheter ma bouffe et mes vêtements [laughter]
(...)
I have been living here for 27 years, I grew as an adult here. Euh, I don't necessarily feel English, but I don't feel French either. I'm not an expat, you see, in the sense that I don't go back to France to buy my food and clothes [laughter] (...)
- *Interviewer: Donc tu ne te sens pas française alors?
So, do you not feel French?
- * Mathilde: Pas vraiment. Ça m'est égal. J'suis pas du tout nationaliste. J'aime pas du tout cette notion de [hesitation] de race, ou de nationalité, le DNA, on a tous le même [laughter].
Not really. I couldn't care less. I'm not a nationalist at all. I really don't like this notion of [hesitation] race or nationality, we all have the same DNA [laughter].
- *Interviewer: Tu n'es pas attachée à la culture française.
Aren't you attached to the French culture?
- *Mathilde: Non. *No*

Mathilde's comments clearly indicate that she feels detached from her cultural heritage and does not approach childhood bilingualism as an opportunity to maintain a cultural identity from one generation to the next. She also appears to be highly appreciative of British culture, in which she feels more comfortable, as she explains below.

- WHEEL.20 Je crois que les premiers 15 jours où je suis arrivée, je me suis dit: "c'est là que je veux vivre." D'abord en Angleterre, les filles sont beaucoup plus libres, à l'époque. Moi j'suis arrivée y a 27 ans, euh, en France c'était: "Pourquoi t'es pas mariée?". Ma famille est très, euh, ils sont très très vieux jeu. Ah oui oui. Ils comprennent pas du tout comment Gareth et moi on vit quoi. Il me tape pas déjà, on se respecte, on s'aime. Non, mais c'est [sigh] [laughter] (...) Euh je viens vraiment de la France profonde [laughter].
I think that the first two weeks after I arrived, I said to myself: "this is where I want to live". First of all, in England, women have much more freedom, at that time. I arrived 27 years ago, euh, in France it was like: "Why aren't you married?". My family is very, euh, they're very old-fashioned. Oh yes. They don't understand at all how Gareth and I live our lives. For one, he doesn't beat me, we respect each other, we love each other. Yeah, it's [sigh] [laughter] (...) Euh I really come from rural France [laughter].

Mathilde's comments clearly indicate that she feels happily integrated in the British society whose values she has fully embraced.

Non-French Parent's Approach to Bilingual Childrearing

In his email interview, Gareth explains that he and his wife are in complete agreement regarding the FLP, which he describes as 'organic within [their] family life', 'a

natural process' and 'perfect'. While raising their child bilingually was 'a joint decision', he refers to his wife as the linguistic authority and would not provide any input in French due to what he describes as 'poor' skills.

WHEEL.21 Only my wife speaks in French to our son as I want my son to have a perfect French accent, not to be tainted by my poor accent or grammar.

As Mathilde explains, Gareth is a meticulous person and 'likes to be precise in everything.' He therefore will not speak in another language unless he is confident about his linguistic abilities. This would explain why he feels that only Mathilde should speak French to their son, John. However, the recorded observation in their home reveals that, during family interactions, Gareth does provide some input in French. Although this may be minimal in quantity, it is enough to keep the group conversation flowing in the minority language. Like Mathilde, Gareth views his child's bilingual acquisition as very important, essentially for the opportunities it offers, such as 'communication and understanding of extended family, career openings, travel, enjoyment of languages, propensity of learning more languages'.

Parental Perception of Children's Language Attitudes

Mathilde believes that John has a positive attitude towards the minority language. She explains that he associates French with his summer holidays in France and the time he spends with his relatives. She also reports that John's positive attitude is due to having an edge on his school mates during French lessons. Mathilde reports that her flexible approach to bilingualism has helped John 'feel relaxed about French' and that by 'not stressing him out', she has promoted communication between them. While she believes that her son has a positive attitude towards French and the FLP, Mathilde, unlike other French parents in this study, specifies that her son identifies as 'English' and that he 'does not feel French.' Like all other non-French parents in this study, Gareth perceives his son's attitude to the HL as neutral. The father believes that John is 'unaware' of his parents' language management decisions because it is an integral and 'natural' part of their daily life.

John's Attitude towards the HL and Parental Language Management.

Considering his interview responses and his use of French during the recorded conversation, John appears to have a positive attitude towards his HL and towards bilingualism in general. As mentioned in the methodology chapter, the interview was conducted in the form of a friendly conversation. At the start of this conversation,

- And how will you teach them French?*
- *John: Je vas les [pause] je [hesitation] Je va dire ils ont besoin de venir ici [smiling]
I will [pause] I [hesitation] I will [pause] I [hesitation] I will say that they need to come here [smiling]
- *Interviewer: A l'école française? *To French school?*
- *John: [nodding]
- *Interviewer: Et quoi d'autre? *And what else?*
- *John: Et j'veais aussi apprendre le français *avec* eux.
I will also teach them French.
- *Interviewer: Tu vas leur enseigner le français. D'accord.
You will teach them French. OK.

John appears to be aware of his level of French skills. He reports his limitations in a detached manner.

- WHEEL.24 *Interviewer: Et en France, tu parles quelles langues avec ta famille en France?
And in France, what languages do you speak with your family in France?
- *John: Français. *French*
- *Interviewer: Est-ce que tu comprends tout ce qu'ils disent?
Do you understand everything they say?
- *John: Non. *No.*
- *Interviewer: Non? Et quand tu ne comprends pas, tu te sens comment?
No? And when you don't understand, how do you feel?
- *John: Confused.
- *Interviewer: Confused?
- *John: Yeah.
- *Interviewer: Autre chose? *Anything else?*
- *John: C'est tout. *That's it.*
- *Interviewer: Est-ce que tu peux dire tout ce que tu as envie de dire à ta famille française?
And are you able to you say everything you want to say to your French family?
- *John: Oui. *Yes.*

- WHEEL.25 *John: Euh [pause] Maman elle me gronde en français [smiling].
Euh [pause] Mum tells me off in French [smiling]
- *Interviewer: [laughter] Pourquoi? *Why?*
- * John: Hmm j'sais pas. Parfois je comprends pas ce qu'elle me dit quand elle me gronde, mais parfois je sais qu'est-ce qu'elle veut me dire.
Hmm I don't know. Sometimes I don't understand what she's saying when she tells me off, but sometimes I know what she means.

While John enjoys speaking his HL and being bilingual, he also reports having a preference for the English language. He explains that '[he] was born in England and it is easier for [him]'. Overall, John seems at ease within a bilingual environment and does not perceive the minority and majority languages as existing in a conflictual dichotomy. This idea is also reflected in his perception of translanguaging.

- WHEEL.26 *Interviewer: Et tu penses que c'est une bonne chose ou une mauvaise chose de mélanger les langues?
And do you think that it is a good thing or a bad thing to mix languages?
- *John: C'est rigolo. *It's funny.*
- *Interviewer: C'est rigolo [laughter]. *It's funny [laughter]*
 Tu penses que c'est bien? *Do you think it's a good thing?*
- *John: Ouais. *Yeah.*
- *Interviewer: A ton avis, que pensent les autres quand ils t'entendent mélanger le français et l'anglais?
In your opinion, what do others think when they hear you mix French and English.
- *John: Le même. Euh [sigh]... *The same. Euh [sigh]...*
- *Interviewer: Tu peux le dire en anglais si tu veux.
You can say it in English if you like.
- *John: Quand je dis un mot, en français, ou c'est anglais, et j'crois ils vont comprendre.
Whether I say a word in French, or in English, I believe they'll understand.
- *Interviewer: Tu penses qu'ils comprennent?
Do you think they understand?
- *John: Ouais. *Yeah.*

I can hear more people on my left.

I can hear more people on my right than the left.

- engle
- frace

WHEEL.27 *John: I can hear more English people on this side than this side, and
 I can hear more French people on this side than this side.
 *Interviewer: Why?
 *John: Hmm, j'suis pas sûr. *I'm not sure.*
 *Interviewer: What do you mean by 'hear'?
 *John: I understand more of English.
 *Interviewer: Is this a problem?

*John: No, it's ok.
*Interviewer: So, it's ok that you don't understand French as much
as English?
*John: [shrugging shoulders] Ouais, it's OK.

Case Study E: The Watson Family

Valérie has been living in Britain for 21 years. She trained as a French teacher but has been working as a university librarian for the past four years. Valérie grew up in a French monolingual home and spent the first decade of her childhood on the Island of Réunion and in Mauritius, before returning to France. As part of her master's degree, she spent a year studying in London through the Erasmus exchange programme. That year, she met her husband Theo. Theo was born and raised in England, as a monolingual English speaker. He describes his 'spoken French [as] very limited' but 'do[es] understand more especially when it is spoken at a slower pace.' Their only child, Marc, is a ten-year-old fan of aviation and has always been living in England.

Family Language Practices

The Watsons' language practices follow a strict one person, one language pattern (OPOL). Valérie speaks French exclusively to her son, in all situations, while Theo sticks to his native English. Marc speaks French only to his mother and English to his father. The parents speak English together. However, Valérie reports that she recently started speaking French to her husband, despite the fact that he may not always understand. She summarises the family language practices as follow:

WATS.1 Marc parle anglais à son papa et français à sa maman. Sauf quand il parle en anglais à son papa, il sait que je comprends. Mais quand on est à table par exemple, c'est l'anglais qui domine, ça m'agace. Par contre moi je lui parle en français. Même si je comprends ce qu'il dit à son père, je lui parle en français.
Marc speaks English to his dad and French to his mum. It's just that when he speaks English to his dad, he knows that I understand. But when we're at the table, for example, English dominates, it annoys me. Even if I do understand what he's saying to his father, I'll speak French to him.

Valérie reports having never spoken to her son in English, which is coherent with Marc's account of their language practices, as demonstrated by their respective comments below.

WATS.2 J'ai toujours parlé à Marc, depuis le jour où je l'ai eu dans les bras, ça a toujours été le français. J'ai jamais plié (...) Marc, je lui parlerai jamais, jusqu'à mon dernier souffle, en anglais.
I have always spoken to Marc, since the day I had him in my arms, it's always been French. I never gave in (...) I will never speak to Marc in English, until my last breath. (Valérie)

- WATS.3 *Interviewer: Tu peux me donner un exemple de situation où
maman parle anglais?
***Can you give me an example of a situation where
mum speaks English?***
- *Marc: Ben quand elle parle à papa.
Well, when she speaks to dad.
- *Interviewer: Et à toi? ***And to you?***
- *Marc: Non, elle me parle jamais en anglais.
No, she never speaks English to me.

Valérie maintains a strict adherence to monolingual interactions with Marc even in situations in which avoiding English may be difficult. For instance, both Valérie and Marc reported doing English homework exclusively in French. He describes their homework routine in the extract below.

- WATS.4 *Marc: Avec maman, j'en parle quand même en français,
mais il y a des mots, si y a des mots que j'connais pas
(...) qu'il y a en anglais, je lui demande le mot en
français, mais je dis ce mot en anglais.
***With mum, I still discuss it in French, but if there
are words, if there are words I don't know (...) that
are in English, I ask her about the word in French,
but I say that word in English.***
- *Interviewer: Et maman parle en quelle langue?
And what language does mum speak?
- *Marc: Français. ***French***

Valérie explains that she only does the homework that '[she] can handle in French' while Marc does the rest on his own or with his father. Conversations between Marc and his mother remain in the minority language in the presence of non-French speakers.

- WATS.5 *Interviewer: Donc même si vous êtes dans la rue, au supermarché,
c'est en français?
***So, even if you are on the street, at the supermarket,
it's in French?***
- *Valérie: En français. Même si y a quelqu'un qui se retourne et
qui me dit quelque chose. Jamais, jamais, jamais.
***In French. Even if someone turns around et says
something. Never, never, never.***
(...) Quand y a ses copains, lui je lui parle en français.
Et d'ailleurs c'est très dur. Lui, je lui parle en français
et ses copains je leur parle en anglais, même si Marc

comprend ce que je dis aux copains. A lui je l'adresse toujours en français. Je l'inclus jamais dans le groupe. *When his friends are around, I speak French to him. And it's very difficult by the way. I speak French to him and I speak English to his friends, even though Marc understands what I am saying to his friends. I always address him in French. I never include him in the group.*

Both Valérie and Marc report that they dislike code-mixing and, therefore, never engage in any translanguaging practices, whether together or with interlocutors.

As regards literacy, Valérie has been reading French books to her son since he was very little. She reports that he is now a fluent French reader and regularly asks him to read out loud, in the minority language.

WATS.6 Et puis il a pas voulu me dire mais il lit couramment le français. Et donc maintenant il lit avec moi à voix haute parce qu'avant je lui faisais, je lui fais toujours confiance. Mais il lit des livres qui m'ont impressionnée. *He didn't want me know that he could read French fluently. So now he reads to me out loud because before I, I always trusted him. But I am impressed by the books he reads.*

Marc declares that he reads in English most of the time and that he does not read in French 'very often'.

French Parent's Language Management Approach.

The language practices described by Valérie and Marc reflect a very rigorous language separation approach to bilingual child-rearing. Valérie shows no tolerance to translanguaging and endeavours to create a French monolingual space for her interactions with her child. This careful language consistency is maintained at all times, as she explains below.

WATS.7 J'ai jamais eu la pression de passer à l'anglais même devant des anglais. T'as des parents qui disent "ah mais les autres ne vont pas comprendre, il faut que je bascule à l'anglais". J'en ai rien à foutre [laughter]. J'vais pas basculer pour eux. Quand y a ses copains, lui je lui parle en français. *I never felt any pressure to switch to English even in front of English people. Some parents say "Oh but the others won't understand, I must switch to English." I don't care [laughter]. I'm not going to switch for them. When his friends are around, I speak French to him.*

Literacy and language teaching are essential components of Valérie's language management method. She reports having read French books to Marc since he was an infant, and on a daily basis. Now that Marc is older, his mother regularly 'make[s] him read to [her] out loud'. In addition to reading, they work on developing Marc's written comprehension skills.

- WATS.10 À la maison on travaille, on fait les cahiers de 'La Luciole' [French activity book]. On fait, on a fait beaucoup de textes avec des questions de compréhension. Je me suis reposée sur X [name of supplementary school] pour faire tout ce qui est grammaire. Mais la lecture on fait à la maison, et les textes de compréhension.
We work at home, we do 'La Luciole' activity books. We do, we've done at lot of texts with comprehension questions. I have been relying on X [name of supplementary school] when it comes to grammar. But we do the reading at home, and the written comprehension activities.

Last, Marc spends 'all his school holidays in France [where] he is in complete immersion'. When Marc was younger, Valérie went to great lengths to ensure that her son would receive a high level of exposure to French. Between the age of three and five, Marc would travel to France three times a year to attend a pre-school for six weeks.

- WATS.11 Mais j'ai eu l'autorisation d'emmener Marc en France. Ça a été trois fois six semaines, pendant 2 ans. Il a fait l'école là-bas. C'était très très bien. Il a fait le cursus, il a pas eu de problèmes. Donc petite section, moyenne section. Mais voilà le soucis c'est que en grande section ils ont dit faut choisir.
And I had permission to take Marc to France. It was three times six weeks, for two years. He attended a school there. It was really really good. He did the programme; he had no problems.
So, first year and second year of pre-school. But the issue was that in the third year (equivalent of UK foundation year) they said we had to choose.

Valérie's idea of her son attending pre-school in two different countries reflects her goal to achieve balanced exposure to both the minority and majority languages.

Observed Language Practices & Management

The observation at the Watson's home took place during homework time. Only Valérie and Marc were present at the time of the observation. The recorded conversation revolved around Marc's English homework on adjective suffixes. As reported in Valérie and Marc's interviews, they both used French exclusively throughout their interaction. Discussing English homework -particularly English

grammar, in the minority language was described as too complicated by many participants in the online survey. However, both Valérie and Marc seem accustomed to a disciplined adherence to language separation, as demonstrated in the following conversation sample.

- WATS.12 *Valérie: [going through the dictionary] Non, j'l'ai pas vu.
trustable, trustability, non. Il y est pas. Ensuite?
No, I haven't seen it. Trustable, trustability, no. It's not there. What else?
- * Marc: Alors, *comfortless*, non, *trustless*, non, *watchless*, non, *openessless* non, *believeless*, non (...) *confidently*, oui.
So, comfortless no, trustless no, watchless, no, openessless no, believeless no (...) confidently yes.
- *Valérie: Celui-la oui. Applique-toi Marc.
That one, yes. Apply yourself Marc.
- * Marc: *Respectly*, non. **Respectly, no.**
- *Valérie: Mais est-ce que ça peut être *respectly* or *respectfully*?
C'est *ly* que tu dois mettre derrière?
But could it be either respectfully or respectfully? Is it 'ly' that you need to add after?
- * Marc: Ouais. Mais tu peux mettre *fully*, les deux, derrière.
Yeah. But you can put fully, both, after.
- *Valérie: T'es sûr? **Are you sure?**
- * Marc: Ben regarde, ils l'ont fait. **Well look, they did that.**
- *Valérie: Ah ben alors tu peux faire ça. **Oh well you can do that.**
- * Marc: *respect...* [hesitation]
- *Valérie: *fu-lly*. T'as *respectfulness* Marc. Tu l'as mis *ful*? Et *respectfully*, c'est un adverbe.
fu-lly. You've got respectfulness Marc. Did you put 'ful'? And respectfully is an adverb.
- * Marc: (...) Voilà, on a fini. (...) **Ok, we're done.**

Minority Parent's language ideologies - Raising a bilingual child is...? – 'a challenge' (Valérie)

Beliefs about Dual Language Acquisition and Translanguaging

Valérie has always been very pro-active in her approach to childhood bilingualism. She reports having read many academic publications when Marc was only an infant. Some of the literature on bilingual infants (zero to three years old) helped her shape her ideas on dual language acquisition.

- WATS.13 J'ai fait au mieux sur tous les doctorats que j'ai lu. J'ai évolué selon ça, toutes les recherches qui avaient été faites (...) Alors c'est bizarre parce

que Grosjean dit la façon la plus commune c'est 'un parent-une langue', puis après tu as tout le monde qui parle la même langue et puis la langue extérieure est différente. Et puis tu en as qui disent une langue après l'autre. Sauf que lui il dit que une seule langue parlée à la maison est la meilleure, celle qui se parle à la maison. Sauf que mon mari il parle pas français donc c'est compliqué.

I have done my best with all the PhDs that I've read. They've helped me evolve, all the research that had been done (...) So it's strange because Grosjean says that the most common way is the one parent-one language, and then you have everyone speaks the same language, and the language outside the home is different. And then you have those who say one language first, and then the other. But the thing is, he says that the one language only at home is best, the one spoken at home. It's just that my husband doesn't speak French so it's complicated.

According to Valérie's comment above, she has familiarised herself with the various language management methods presented in academic research, such as the OPOL strategy, the minority language in the home and majority language outside, as well as successive language acquisition- introducing the majority language at a later stage. Considering that her husband, Theo, does not speak any French, Valérie appears to have opted for the OPOL method for lack of a better option. Based on her reading of Grosjean, she would prefer to implement the minority language only strategy, as she believes that it is the most effective for children's HL development. This belief could explain why she has recently started to address her husband in French, despite the fact that '[he] doesn't speak any French'.

Despite her strong interest in academic literature, Valérie keeps a critical approach to research findings and recommendations that seem incongruent with her perception of bilingual childrearing.

WATS.14 Après t'adaptes selon [pause] c'est pas parce que c'est de la recherche que t'avales tout (...) C'est ce qu'il a dit le prof, il est Chinois, Wi Wei ou j'sais pas quoi: "Vous êtes avant tout une famille", donc, mais après, une famille oui, mais on est une famille bilingue. Alors c'est sûr qu'on est une famille mais le bilinguisme joue un grand rôle.
But then you adjust according to [pause] it's not because it's research that you need to swallow everything (...) Like what this professor said, he's Chinese, Wi Wei or something: "You're a family before anything else", OK, but then, a family yes, but we're a bilingual family. So, of course that we're a family but bilingualism plays a big part.

Valérie explains that she relied on academic publications until her son was three. At that point, she could not find any relevant literature on school-age children and decided to search for additional sources of information. For example, together with

her son Marc, they have been taking part in workshops and research studies on childhood bilingualism, organised by the University of Cambridge.

- WATS.15 A l'Université de Cambridge, il y a un groupe bilingue. Deux fois par an il y a une réunion (...) Il y a une réunion avec tous les chercheurs, ils viennent de Londres. Ils viennent de partout, du Canada, parce que c'est un réservoir là-bas pour faire des expériences (...) Ils vont faire des études donc j'ai inscrit Marc et moi (...) L'autre fois on a parlé du 'code-mixing'. J'ai continué ma recherche en assistant à ces réunions deux fois par an.
At the University of Cambridge, there's a bilingual group. There's a meeting twice a year (...) There's a meeting with all the researchers, they come from London, they come from everywhere, from Canada, because there's a large reservoir there for experiments (...) They will be doing some studies, I have signed us up, Marc and I. Last time we spoke about code-mixing. I have continued my research by attending these meetings twice a year.

While Valérie seems well-informed on bilingualism research findings, she declares that her understanding of bilingualism does not agree with the current academic definitions. She believes that only individuals raised in two languages and cultures can be described as bilingual. Valérie distinguishes between speaking a second language fluently and being bilingual.

- WATS.16 Pour moi, mon fils est bilingue parce qu'il est élevé dans deux cultures. Alors que pour les chercheurs, c'est pas comme ça que ça fonctionne. Apparemment le bilinguisme, tu peux être bilingue tard dans ta vie, tu peux être bilingue tôt dans ta vie. Et sans forcément avoir les deux cultures. Pour moi c'est pas ça (...) je me considère pas bilingue du tout. J'ai pas le dixième de la culture, j'ai pas grandi dans ce pays donc je vois pas comment je pourrais être.
For me, my son is bilingual because he's being raised within two cultures. Whereas according to researchers, that's not how it works. Apparently, bilingualism, you can be bilingual later in life, you can be bilingual early in life. And not necessarily have the two cultures. For me it's not like that (...) I don't consider myself bilingual at all. I don't have a tenth of the culture, I didn't grow up here, I don't see how I could be.

Despite Valérie's strict ban on translanguaging, she does believe that 'it is more natural [for the bilingual brain] to code-switch'. She declares that she 'forbids' herself to engage in translanguaging practices because '[she] finds it horrible to hear'. She justifies her approach by describing herself as a 'purist' and a 'linguist', due to her French teacher training.

There is, therefore, a discrepancy between Valérie's belief in translanguaging as a natural process, and her absolute intolerance towards code-switching. The following interview sample offers an explanation as to how she reconciles both positions.

WATS.17 Mais je pense que forcément c'est lui mettre une astreinte au cerveau. C'est plus naturel de faire du code-switching mais [pause] le cerveau, tu peux en faire ce que tu veux!
I think that it obviously puts a constraint on his brain. It's more natural to code-switch but [pause], the brain, you can do whatever you want with it!

An important element of Valérie's language beliefs emerges from the above comment. She explains that the brain of the bilingual child can be moulded through parental language management and practices. Valérie believes that without artificially creating a monolingual context, it would be impossible to achieve the language goals she has set for her son. Her comment reveals that she has a very strong impact belief (De Houwer, 1999) since she sees parents as capable of controlling and shaping their children's language acquisition process.

WATS.18 C'est un défi. Si tu veux pour moi, un enfant bilingue, tu peux soit laisser la nature faire comme elle veut, mais moi, l'idée que je me suis faite du bilinguisme, alors pas parfait mais, bilingue dans les deux langues. Moi je m'étais fait mon schéma moi-même [laughter].
It's a challenge. If you like, for me, a bilingual child, you can either let nature takes its course, but I, the idea I have of bilingualism, so maybe not perfect but, bilingual in both languages. I made up my own concept of it [laughter].

Given Valérie's beliefs, it is questionable whether her son Marc does not translanguague truly because 'he does not enjoy it', as they both reported in their respective interviews. The high level of control exercised by Valérie over her son's HL acquisition process suggests that Marc has little room for manoeuvre when it comes to language choice.

Heritage Language Expectations

Valérie declares that she is currently perfectly satisfied with Marc's proficiency in the minority language. She believes that her efforts have been fruitful and feels a sense of pride.

WATS.19 Je suis fière de lui. Pour ce qu'il est. Si j'avais rêvé de ça, je me serais dit "c'est pas possible".
I am proud of him. Of who he is. If I had dreamt it, I would have told myself: "This can't be".

Valérie's expectations of her son's HL development are high. Not only does she expect him to achieve balanced bilingualism, but she also strives for absolute balanced biculturalism. She espouses the traditional view of 'the bilinguals as two people in one person' (Grosjean 1989), as described in her comment below.

WATS.20 J'espère qu'il le vit bien surtout. Parce que pour lui c'est deux entités. Je supporte pas quand les gens lui demandent: "Alors, tu préfères la France ou l'Angleterre?"
Most of all I hope that he's having a good experience. Because for him, it's two entities. I can't stand it when people ask him: "so, do you prefer France or England?"

In order to create biculturalism, Valérie believes that she should give precedence to the minority language and culture in order to compensate for the overwhelming presence of the English language and culture.

WATS.21 Je fais en sorte que l'une domine pas l'autre (...) Et pour moi, il est même français avant d'être anglais. Pour moi c'est ça dans ma tête, il peut avoir la nationalité de son père [= hésitation] (...) Je fais en sorte que ce soit égal, et ça c'est du boulot (...) Je me mets en colère quand y a un déséquilibre. J'suis pas venu ici pour me faire dominer par l'anglais. Je sais que l'environnement autour est dominant. Mais moi dans ma vie, je n'en veux pas.
I make sure that one does not dominate the other. And for me, he's even French before being English. For me, that's how it is in my mind, he may have his father's nationality [hesitation] (...) I make sure they equal, and that is a lot of work (...) I get angry when there is an imbalance. I didn't come here to be dominated by English. I know that the surrounding environment is predominant. But personally, I don't want any of it in my life.

Although Valérie is aware of her uncommonly high standards and rigorous language approach, she considers her FLP as necessary and in Marc's best interest.

- WATS.22 Alors bon, moi on m'a appelée l'intégriste, parce que je lâche pas. Mais si on lâche, on faiblit. Ça se ressent.
Well, I have been called a radical, because I don't let go. But if one lets go, one gets weaker. You can feel it.

Valérie's promotion of the French language and culture within the family comes hand in hand with a complete rejection of the majority culture. It is difficult to assess whether such rejection is a tool to her French only policy or whether it is the reason why she has adopted such an extreme approach to her child's bilingualism. She reports that she has been attempting to isolate herself from British cultural influences and has been living 'alongside this culture'.

- WATS.23 Y a des choses que tu peux prendre, mais je veux que ça m'atteigne le moins possible. On n'a pas du tout le même mode de vie (..) Mais je vis à côté de cette culture. Je prends ce qui me va, mais après je ne m'assimile pas (...) Je socialise plus du tout en fait. Parce que je les trouve désespérément ennuyeux [laughter].
There are things one can take in, but I want it to reach me as little as possible. We don't have the same way of life at all (...) And I live alongside this culture. I take what suits me, but I don't assimilate' (...) I don't socialise any more actually. Because I find them desperately boring [laughter].

This aspect of the FLP has concrete consequences on both Valérie and Marc's daily lives. For instance, she works 'in a library (...) so she does not have to speak' and she is not at risk of losing her native language, 'unlike French mums who work office jobs.' She does not read any English newspaper or 'watch the news in English'. The day of the interview, Marc had invited a friend to his home for the first time. Until then, Valérie had refused to invite any English classmates due to too great cultural differences.

- WATS.24 Je trouve ça très compliqué parce qu'on vit pas comme eux (...) Parce que c'est pas que je suis stricte sur la bouffe, je mange pas comme les anglais. Tu vois ce que je veux dire? La junk food c'est pas mon truc (...) Baked beans-pizza le soir, mon fils il mange pas ça.
I find it very complicated because we don't live like they do (...) Because it's not that I'm strict with food, but I don't eat like the English. Do you know what I mean? Junk food isn't my thing (...) Baked beans-pizza in the evening, my son doesn't eat that.

Valérie attributes her negative feelings towards the host culture to the cultural gap between 'Latin' cultures and the 'Anglo-Saxon' world, which she judges too 'pragmatic'. She specifies that 'it is not the [English] language' that poses a problem,

WATS.25 *Interviewer: Mais ça te dérange de parler anglais, en général?
 But does speaking English, in general, bother you?
 *Valérie: Non. Ça me gêne des fois devant Marc, parce qu'il sait
 que je le comprends. Il sait que maman est obligée
 parce que je vis ici dans le pays de papa.'
 No. It bothers me sometimes, in front of Marc,
 because he knows that I understand. He knows that
 mum has to because I live here, in Dad's country.

Parental Motivations for Developing Children's HL

WATS.27 *Interviewer Qu'est ce que ça représente pour toi qu'il parle français?
 What does it mean to you that he speaks French?
 *Valérie ‘Tout: sa famille, ma famille, ses liens, ses cousins, c’est tout. C’est tout MOI.’
 Everything: his family, my family, his relationships, his cousins, it’s everything. It’s all ME.

Valérie also justifies her approach by describing bilingualism as a great asset. However, the benefits of bilingualism that she mentions during her interview remain vague ideas. Valérie states that multilingualism contributes to opening one's mind and allows people to be part of the 'two thirds of the world that are bilingual.'

Besides these two explicit motivations, it appears that Valérie's 'project' of raising a balanced bilingual child is also driven by a more personal sense of personal success. On six occasions during the interview, she describes the process as a 'personal investment' and hopes that 'one day [Marc] will realise' her efforts. Given the very personal nature of Valérie's language policy, her husband Theo was not part of the language planning process. She reports that 'he has been following [and] has been trusting her' on this aspect on their family life. Valérie's approach to childhood bilingualism as a benchmark for parental success, as well as her high expectations of balanced bilingualism, have been a source of anxiety for her, since Marc's infancy. As most heritage speakers, Marc's English rapidly developed and became dominant as he started formal schooling (Grosjean, 2010). This transition put Valérie in a deep state of apprehension as she explains below.

- WATS.28 *Valérie: Donc Marc a commencé 'Reception' en anglais. Donc l'anglais a pris un peu le pas. Moi je me suis retrouvée déboussolée (...) Moi j'ai paniqué, j'ai fait une grosse crise d'angoisse avant qu'il rentre à l'école.
So, Marc started Reception year (4 years old) in English. Then, English started to take over. I found myself disorientated (...) I panicked. I had a big anxiety attack before he started school.
- *Interviewer: Tu avais peur qu'il perde son français?
Were you worried that he would lose his French?
- *Valérie: Oui. Ça c'est une source d'angoisse pour moi. Oui. J'en suis consciente. Je sais que je peux pas contrôler. Mais c'est une angoisse pour moi. J'ai peur qu'il oublie parce qu'il y en a qui l'ont fait.
Yes. This is a big source of anxiety for me. Yes. I am aware of it. I know I cannot control it. But it makes me anxious. I'm afraid he'll forget because others have.

Marc is now ten years old but Valérie's anxiety about HL loss has not disappeared. Although she is extremely satisfied with his current proficiency in French, she reports having gone through a period of depression a year ago. She describes her experience as follows:

- WATS.29 J'ai fini par avoir un gros coup de blues l'année dernière (...) Quand tu donnes, tu donnes, tu donnes, tu pousses, tu pousses, puis voilà

maintenant ça va bien (...) C'est un investissement personnel énorme. J'ai pas fait un burn out pour rien. J'suis arrivée au bout du rouleau quand même.

I ended up having a major depression last year (...) When you give, you give, you give, you push, you push, but now I'm fine (...) It's a huge personal investment. I didn't have a burn out for no reason. I was at the end of my rope.

Since Okita's book (2002) on 'the invisible work' produced by many minority language mothers to transmit their native language to their children, many researchers have highlighted the stress and heavy workload this responsibility entails (De Houwer, 2009).

Non-French Parent's Approach to Bilingualism

As mentioned previously, Theo describes his French as 'very limited.' He reports that he and his wife made a joint decision to follow the one person-one language method in order not to confuse Marc, but also due to Theo's 'bad pronunciation in French and with an English accent.' This would suggest that the father's exclusive use of English at home may be the product of a parental decision rather than mere lack of good will on Theo's part, as reported by Valérie. Theo perceives his involvement in shaping the FLP as minimal. His comments below support Valérie's statement according to which raising a bilingual child was a personal goal she set for herself 'before [she] even met Theo'.

WATS.30 It was the focus (dream) of Valérie that Marc would become bilingual, and I always supported her, even when she wanted Marc to go to Pre-school in France for 3 months for two consecutive years.

Although he may disagree with elements of Valérie's approach, Theo usually concedes as he believes that his lack of foreign language skills does not allow him to make informed decisions on the FLP.

WATS.31 Because I am not a teacher and have very limited knowledge of speaking other languages, I went with Valérie in her desire for Marc. Obviously, we sometimes do not agree but we normally come to some sort of compromise (probably more me than Valérie).

Parental Perception of Children's Language Attitudes

Valérie believes that Marc feels equally French and English and that he does not have any language preference. She also reports that despite his young age, her son feels 'European' before anything else. She perceives Marc's attitude towards his heritage

language and culture as positive. As regards her language management approach, Valérie thinks that it has been conducive to creating a strong bond between them. According to her comments below, she feels that Marc's ability to develop and maintain a high level of French has contributed to creating a special bond between them.

- WATS.32
- *Valérie: (...) on a une complicité qu'on aurait pas eu autrement
(...) We have a personal connection that we wouldn't have had otherwise.
- *Interviewer: Grâce au fait que vous utilisiez du français exclusivement?
Thanks to the fact that you use French exclusively?
- * Valérie: Oui. Je pense (...) pour moi, c'était ça, c'était créer ce lien. J'espère. Et J'espère que ça le restera. Parce qu'un bilingue qui n'a pas l'utilisation de la langue devient monolingue.
Yes. I think so (...) for me, it was about that, about creating that bond. I hope. And I hope it will stay that way. Because a bilingual who doesn't use the language becomes monolingual.

Theo's perception of Marc's attitude is more nuanced than Valérie's. He reports that Marc has experienced bilingualism as an organic part of his existence. However, Theo feels that 'as he [Marc] gets older he starts to rebel a little against the additional work that it involves.'

Marc's Attitude Towards the HL and Parental Language Management.

Generally, Marc reports enjoying speaking French with his mother and his relatives in France. He also explains that his HL skills allow him to help his classmates during French lessons at school. However, many of Marc's comments closely echo Valérie's views. For instance, he justifies his appreciation of French by explaining that it helps him 'understand more things (...) because some English words come from French'. He also explains that 'it would be more difficult to communicate' with his mother if he didn't speak the minority language. His attitude towards translanguageing also sounds very similar to his mother's position. He reports that he does not appreciate mixing languages 'because it does not sound nice'.

Marc states that he does not have any language preference. That said, he also declares that he generally prefers speaking with his father.

- WATS.33 Ben des fois je vois pas mon papa beaucoup parce qu'il travaille jusqu'à 6 heures. Parce que, et je le vois pas beaucoup. C'est pour ça que moi je préfère parler avec mon papa parce que je le vois pas beaucoup.

Well sometimes I don't see my dad a lot because he works until 6pm. Because, and I don't see him a lot. That's why I prefer speaking with my dad because I don't see him a lot.

He also reports avoiding school-related topics when conversing with his mother, which could be due to a lack of vocabulary in the HL and his mother's refusal to interact in English.

- WATS.34 *Interviewer: Et quand tu parles de choses concernant l'école, tu le dis en français ou en anglais?
And when you speak about school-related things, do you say say it in French or in English?
- *Marc: Euh des choses qu'on a fait à l'école, ben euh j'en parle pas beaucoup.
Euh things we do at school, well euh I don't speak about it much.
- *Interviewer: Ah bon? Pourquoi? *Really? Why?*
- *Marc: Ben euh, je sais pas. *Well euh, I don't know.*
- *Interviewer: Maman ne te demande pas tous les jours: "Qu'est-ce que tu as fait à l'école?"
Doesn't mum ask you everyday: "What did you do at school?"
- *Marc: Si. *She does.*
- *Interviewer: Tu dis quoi? *What do you say?*
- *Marc: J'lui réponds pas. *I don't answer her.*

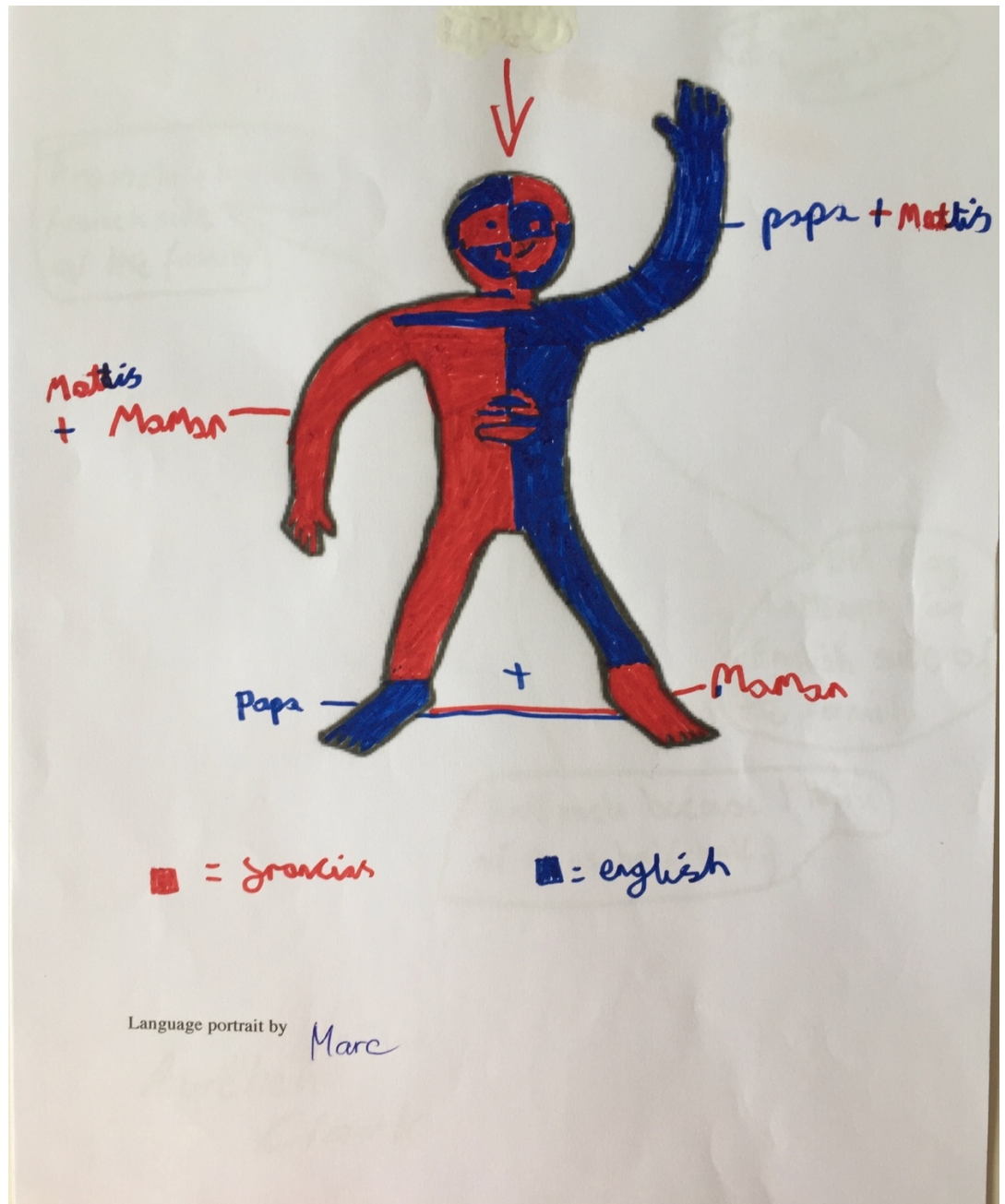
While some of Marc's comments suggest a more nuanced language attitude than the one reported by Valérie, it remains difficult to distinguish between what constitutes his authentic experiences and what could be a simple reiteration of his mother's ideas. As regards Valérie's language management methods, Marc does not express any explicit criticism. However, his ideas on how he would raise bilingual children as a father differ from his mother's approach.

- WATS.35 *Interviewer: (...) et tu penses que quand tu seras papa tu enseigneras le français à tes enfants?
(...) and do you think that when you are a dad you will teach French to your children?
- *Marc: Ouais. *Yeah*
- *Interviewer: Pourquoi? *Why?*
- *Marc: Ben [pause] j'aimerais bien garder le français parce que ma famille, ils pourront parler à ma famille.
Well [pause] I would like to keep French because my family, they will be able to speak to my family.
- *Interviewer: Alors tu parleras français ou anglais à tes enfants?
So, will you speak French or English to your children?

*Marc: Ben, à la maison je leur parlerai les deux, et après ils choisiront ce qu'ils préfèrent. Et après, je parlerai celle-là à la maison, et après je parlerai français.
Well, at home I will speak both to them, and then they will choose the one they prefer. And then, that's the one I will speak to them at home, and then I will speak French.

Marc's imagined language policy would entail speaking both languages and giving his children the freedom to choose 'the one they prefer'. He would then follow his children's language choice and speak their preferred language, which he assumes would be English. It is interesting to note that although Marc declares not having any language preference himself, he automatically presumes that his children would.

Figure 15: Marc's Language Portrait.



Marc put in a great effort to use the exact same amount of red, for French, and blue, for English. Each colour is associated with one parent, reflecting his mother's strong determination to establish a clear language separation at home. Marc declares identifying himself as 'half-half', which he depicts through mixing both colours on the face and core of the figure.

Case Study F: The Hall Family

Chloé has been living in the UK for 10 years and works as a freelance translator. She grew up in France with an American mother and a French father. As a child, Chloé spoke mostly French to her mother but ‘could understand everything in English’. She met her husband George as he was visiting France and she later moved to Britain to pursue their relationship. George grew up in a monolingual English household although his father speaks fluent French as he lived in Mauritius for several years. George describes his French as ‘just good enough to get by’ and he is able to understand most interactions in French between Chloé and the children. The couple has two daughters: Clara, 4 and Aurore, 8. Since Clara had not started school at the time of the data collection, only Aurore took part in the study. George has an older daughter from a previous relationship with a French partner. Although his first child did not take part in the study, she is mentioned during the interview with Chloé.

Family language practices

The Hall family’s interactions follow a very consistent OPOL pattern. George speaks English exclusively to the rest of the family whereas Chloé speaks French only to her daughters and English to her husband. Aurore’s description of her mother’s language choices confirms that Chloé never addresses her in English regardless of the context. Both Aurore and her mother report that Chloé uses French to discuss English homework.

HALL.1 We use French. I correct the reading mistakes in English but give the instructions in French. Math was a bit slow “clicking” as I asked the questions and said the numbers in French and she replied in English. She’s now quite good at answering multiplications in English when the operation is said in French. For topics, we’ll read the information in English and any explanation will be made in French. (*Chloé’s online survey response*)

Aurore and Clara speak English to their father and between themselves. When addressing their mother, they speak mostly English but translanguage occasionally. However, Chloé explains that their code-mixing consists of placing a French word within an English sentence in a playful manner rather than being a true attempt to express themselves in French. She provides the following examples:

HALL.2 C'est comme *piscine (swimming-pool)*. "When are we going to the piscine?" [laughter]. "Is it today that we're going to the piscine?" [laughter]

Overall, Chloé and her daughters mostly have parallel-mode (Gafaranga, 2010) or dual-lingual interactions (Saville Troike, 1987 in Smith-Christmas, 2016) in which the children use English whereas the HL parent uses the minority language without any disruption to the flow of conversation. As regards Chloé's translanguaging practices, she explains that she avoids code-mixing as much as possible when speaking to her children.

HALL.3 *Interviewer: Mais toi, tu ne leur parleras jamais en anglais?
 But you, won't you ever speak English to them?

 *Chloé: Non. Bon y a des mots qui, de temps en temps, qui 'slip' [laughter]. Mais c'est pas fréquent. Et j'en suis consciente en fait. Donc j'essaie de trouver vite le mot en français.
 No. Well, sometimes there might be words that 'slip' [laughter]. But it's not frequent. And I am aware of it. I tried to quickly find the word in French.

 *Interviewer: Donc tu ne mélanges pas beaucoup? ***So, you do not mix a lot?***

 *Chloé: Non. ***No.***

However, Chloé will happily translanguage with bilingual members of the extended family. She describes conversations during family gatherings as a 'comfortable blend' in which 'it fizzes off in all possible directions'.

HALL.4 Alors quand la mère de V (George's ex-partner) vient à la maison et qu'on est tous ensemble: alors ma mère, bilingue, mon père, francophone, Granny, anglophone, la mère de V, francophone mais qui parle un peu en anglais, X (George's father) et moi complètement bilingues (...) Ça part dans tous les sens.
 So, when V's mother (George's ex-partner) comes over and we're all together: so, my mother is bilingual, my father, francophone, Granny, English-speaking, V's mother, French-speaking but she speaks a little English, X (George's father) and I, completely bilingual (...) It fizzes off in all possible directions.'

HALL.5 Si quelqu'un nous pose une question en anglais on va répondre en anglais, et là, quelquefois ça peut partir complètement de travers car il se peut que X et moi on se réponde en français [laughter] et après [pause] dans la même conversation, oui on le fait [referring to translanguaging].

If someone asks us a question in English, we'll answer in English, and here, sometimes, it can completely go astray because X and I might respond to each other in French [laughter] and then [pause] in the same conversation, yes, we do it [referring to translanguaging].

French Parent's Language Management Approach.

Chloé has always been very self-disciplined in her language choices at home. George and Chloé implement the OPOL strategy even though they 'didn't actually have a discussion about it'. Chloé decided to speak French exclusively to her children, while George, who can only speak English, has been sticking to the majority language over the years.

As mentioned in the previous section, both Aurore and her mother report that Chloé never addresses her daughters in English, either at home or in public. One of Chloé's methods, during group conversations, is to signal, through body language, that her use of the majority language is not directed at her daughters.

HALL.6 Mais à table, si on est les quatre ensemble, à table, si je m'adresse aux filles, en français, et George doit comprendre ce qui se passe [pause] Et [hesitation], si je m'adresse à George, ou que je veux faire une remarque, et que je continue la conversation en anglais parce que c'est plus facile pour George, je me tourne vers George [laughter], pour une remarque générale à la table, je le fais en anglais. Euh [laughter] c'est tout un art en fait.

But at the table, if it's the four of us, at the table, if I am speaking to the girls, in French, and George needs to understand what is happening [pause] and [hesitation], if I am speaking to George, or if I want to make a comment, and that I continue the conversation in English because it's easier for George, I turn towards George [laughter], when it's a general comment to the whole table, I do it in English. Euh [laughter] it's quite an art actually.

Chloé's language practices remain consistent when addressing Aurore within a group of non-French speakers, such as her school mates.

HALL.7 Quand on a des petites copines à la maison par exemple, je parle à Aurore en français, et après je traduis pour ses copines. Ou alors de toutes façons, ses copines elles disent "oh mais qu'est-ce qu'elle a dit ta mère?" et Aurore traduit.

When we have girl friends over, for examples, I speak French to Aurore, and then I translate for her girlfriends. Or anyway, her girlfriends will say "Oh but what did your mum say?", and Aurore will translate.

Chloé ‘do[es] not hide the fact that [she] can speak English’ and her exclusive use of French is presented to her daughters as a language preference rather than an inability to express herself in English. The language separation method in the Hall family also applies to literacy practices, for which the rule is ‘daddy reads in English and mummy reads in French’. On occasions where Clara insists on being read a particular English book, Chloé takes on the difficult task of translating the story into French. Alternatively, when her father is unavailable, Aurore reads in English to her younger sister.

The family has been attending their supplementary school as a means to encourage Aurore and Clara's acquisition of French. As with many parents, Chloé relies on the Saturday school for reading and writing skills in the minority language. However, she also sees it as the only place where her daughters 'have to try and construct sentences in French', which they do not do at home.

Last, Chloé sees the family's holiday in France as an opportunity for Clara and Aurore to practice their French. However, she is faced with an unusual challenge since her mother, who is American, enjoys speaking English with her grandchildren. Even in this situation, Chloé does not impose the use of French to her daughters but, instead, she regularly reminds her mother 'to speak French to [the children]'.

Observed Language Practices & Management

The Hall family's language practices were observed at their home, on a Saturday evening. The whole family, as well as George's parents (referred to as Granny and Grandpa) were gathered at the dinner table for a raclette (traditional Swiss cheese dish).

The family's language practices during the recorded conversation were coherent with Chloé and Aurore's accounts. Chloé's language choices remained consistent for the duration of the exchange. She used French exclusively when speaking to her children, while she spoke English to the rest of the family. As she mentioned, her body language also signalled that her interactions in English did not concern the children as she looked at, and slightly turned towards her interlocutor when speaking in English.

HALL.11 *Chloé (French mother): [addressing her daughters]
 Est-ce que vous voulez du
 jambon? Tout le monde a eu du jambon?
 Do you want some ham? Has everyone had ham?
 *Aurore: Yes. ***Qui***

- *Clara: I have. *I did.*
 *Chloé: Très bien. *Very good.*
 [Slightly turning to her left] Grandpa, you have to be careful that these don't overcook. Otherwise they get all oily.
 [Looking back at the children] Qui n'a pas eu de champignons? Aurore tu veux des champignons?
Who did not have any mushrooms? Aurore, would you like some mushrooms?

The observation also indicates that Chloé and her daughters mostly have parallel-mode interactions, as reported by both Chloé and Aurore. The two girls did not use any French during the entire interaction.

- HALL.12 *Clara: Mummy?
 *Chloé: Oui? *Yes?*
 *Clara: Can I have more tomatoes?
 *Chloé: Encore?! *More?!*
 *Clara: because I've only got three.
 *Chloé: Mais c'est déjà bien pour commencer ma chouquette.
But that's a good start darling.
 *Granny (monolingual English speaker):
 You can have some more later.

Chloé's strong discipline in her language choices appears to have a minimal effect against the overwhelming dominance of English within the group. She is the sole source of input in the minority language and George does not seem involved in encouraging his daughters to speak French. The conversation sample below highlights the predominance of English among family members.

- HALL.13 *Chloé (French mother):
 Alors les filles, vous avez fini de peindre le bateau?
So, girls, have you finished painting the boat?
 *Clara: No, we haven't finished.
 *George (British Father, basic French skills):
 Does anyone want more potatoes?
 *Aurore: Yeah
 *Chloé: Qui est-ce qui veut du fromage? *Who wants some cheese?*
 *Aurore: Hmm I've still got mine.
 *George: Anyone? Some more cheese?
 *Clara: Me! Me! No, I want hot cheese.

The above conversation sample reveals that any effort from Chloé to initiate and develop an exchange in French, with her daughters, is immediately undermined by

Minority Parent's Language Ideologies - Raising a bilingual child is...? - 'Rewarding' (Chloé)

Chloé explains that she perceives translanguageing as a natural phenomenon and that she code-mixes often with other adult bilinguals. However, she also believes that in order for her daughters to develop their listening skills in the HL, she should avoid the use of English, including in translanguageing practices. As discussed in the previous chapter, a large majority of the Internet survey respondents reported that English and translanguageing should be avoided despite code-mixing and code-switching being normal and positive practices. Chloé's comments below reflect the views of many parents who took part in the online questionnaire.

- Chloé's avoidance of translanguaging is the result of a conscious effort to maximise HL exposure rather than the evidence of contradicting language ideologies and management. Considering the limited amount of input in the minority language, Chloé believes that translanguaging would further reduce her children's exposure to French.

Chloé also reports that language consistency contributes to Aurore and Clara's emotional well-being. She explains that changing language strategies would disturb her children who are accustomed to her use of the minority language only.

- HALL.15 Je pense que pour elles ce serait pas naturel si je me mets à leur parler en anglais. Elles vont se dire: "Mais qu'est ce qui se passe? Pourquoi elle m'adresse la parole en anglais tout à coup? Qu'est-ce que j'ai fait de mal?"
I think that it wouldn't feel natural to them if I started speaking English to them. They'll think: "But what's happening? Why is she addressing me in English suddenly? What did I do wrong?"

An essential element of Chloé's language management is the children's freedom of language choice when addressing their mother. She declares: 'I don't want to impose the use of French on my children', and 'I want it to come from them'. Chloé's motivation for her decision is multifold. First, she explains that imposing the use of the minority language at home, would lead Aurore to develop a negative attitude towards it. Chloé also believes that 'forcing' children to speak a minority language leads them to experience stress and language anxiety.

- HALL.16 Je lui impose pas, parce que j'ai pas envie de la stresser dessus. J'ai pas envie qu'elle se braque, et dire qu'on lui a imposé le français.
I don't impose it on her because I don't want her to feel stressed about it. I don't want her to reject it and say that French was imposed to her.

Chloé also decided to let Aurore express herself in her preferred language in order to encourage communication between them. She explains that imposing the use of the minority language would 'frustrate' her daughter and discourage her from sharing her thoughts and experiences with her mother. Chloé's motivations for not imposing French are reflected in the two interview extracts below.

- HALL.17 Si je leur imposais le français, qu'elles étaient obligées d'exprimer tous leurs sentiments en français, peut-être que ça les bloquerait plus. Parce que mine de rien, c'est quand même normal que l'anglais soit leur langue principale. Donc là c'est, elles seraient frustrées.
If I imposed French on them, if they were obliged to express all their feelings in French, maybe that it would hold them back. Because, after all, it is normal that English should be their first language. So, then, they would feel frustrated.
- HALL.18 Donc si elles ont un problème, elles peuvent me dire en anglais, et je vais répondre en français, avec mes mots pour l'encourager en français, et ça passe comme ça. Si je leur imposais de le dire en français, peut-être qu'elles pourraient pas l'exprimer aussi bien, euh, et pourraient peut-

être pas, si elles veulent me raconter par exemple, ce qu'il s'est passé à l'école, un tel a dit ci, un tel a dit ça, euh, tout à coup ça devient plus compliqué. Donc là, elles peuvent dire ce qu'elles ont envie de sortir.

So, if they have a problem, they can tell me in English, and I'll respond in French, with my words of encouragement in French, and that works well. If I demanded that they told me in French, perhaps that they wouldn't be able to express themselves as well, euh, and perhaps they wouldn't be able, if, for example, they want to tell me what has happened at school, such and such said this or that, suddenly it gets more complicated. So as things are, they can say whatever needs to come out.

Chloé's language management draws on her own childhood experience as a heritage speaker. She describes her children as 'the second bilingual generation, just the other way around'. Her mother spoke mostly English at home and Chloé reports that she was able to 'understand everything'. However, she and her siblings spent a considerable amount of time with a babysitter who forbade them to speak English at home.

HALL.19 Parce que je l'ai vécu. Ma mère est américaine en fait. Donc quand j'étais petite, elle voulait absolument qu'on parle anglais. Mais au bout d'un moment elle a abandonné. En fait la baby-sitter nous interdisait de parler anglais. Elle nous obligeaient à parler français. Mais ma mère elle savait pas ça.

Because I experienced it. My mother is actually American. So, when I was little, she really wanted us to speak English. But after some point she gave up. In fact, the babysitter did not allow us to speak English. She would force us to speak French. But my mother didn't know that.

Les gens se rendent pas compte, parce qu'ils l'ont pas cette expérience. Leurs enfants l'auront. Mais eux ils l'ont pas encore.

People don't realise that, because they haven't had that experience. Their children will. But they haven't.

Chloé declares that, unlike some other parents who grew up in monolingual homes, she can empathise with her daughters' experiences as heritage speakers. However, she is also aware that her decision not to impose the use of the minority language at home may result in children responding exclusively in English. Therefore, Chloé perceives her language approach as both necessary for the well-being of Aurore and Clara, and as an obstacle to the development of their HL.

HALL.20 *Interviewer: Et pourquoi tu l'as inscrite à l'école française, justement?

And why did you enrol her in French school?

*Chloé: C'est bien de le comprendre, mais comme je ne les force pas à me parler en français, à X [name of French school], elles sont obligées de le parler. Elles sont

obligées d'essayer de construire des phrases en français.

It's very well to understand it, but since I do not force them to speak French to me, at X [name of French School], they have to speak it. They have to try and construct sentences in French.

While Chloé does not endorse enforcing the use of the HL at home, she strongly believes in speaking the appropriate language in a particular setting, out of politeness. For instance, she regrets not asking her children to speak more French during their visits to relatives in France. Chloé strongly associates language choice with respect for one's interlocutors, as she describes in the two interview samples below.

HALL.21 Mais c'est vrai que j'ai pas eu la discipline, par exemple, en vacances, au mois d'octobre, on était chez mon oncle et ma tante. Ils parlent pas un mot d'anglais. Et ça c'est quelque chose que je devrais plus faire quand même. A partir du moment où on est en France avec des francophones, essayer de parler français.
But it's true that I didn't have the discipline, for example, on holidays, last October, we were at my aunt and uncle's. They don't speak a word of English. And that's something I should do more often. Whenever we are in France around French speakers, try and speak French.

HALL.22 Je pense que je devrais fais l'effort de parler en anglais tout le temps si la majorité de la salle est anglophone.
I think that I need to make an effort to always speak English if the majority of people in the room are English-speaking.

Heritage Language Expectations

Chloé's expectations of the children's development and use of the minority language are coherent with her language management choices. She believes that her daughters will develop strong listening skills but that she does not expect 'that they will speak French to her in the future'.

HALL.23 Comme je me suis pas imposée de leur faire parler, de répondre en français, j'peux pas m'attendre à ce qu'elles soient parfaitement bilingues, et qu'elles me parlent en français régulièrement.
Since I decided not to make them speak, respond in French, I can't expect that they will be perfectly bilingual, and that they will speak French to me regularly.

Chloé's comments suggest that she feels highly responsible for her children's HL development. She also reports being satisfied with Aurore's current French skills.

She believes that although her daughter rarely speaks the minority language to her, she is able to communicate in French with her relatives in France. Chloé expects that as her children grow older, ‘they will make more efforts to speak French when they are in France’.

Parental Motivations for Developing Children’s HL

Chloé describes the transmission of the French language and culture to her children as ‘super important’. She explains that their French heritage is part of ‘their identity’, ‘their culture’ and that ‘it’s half of who they are’.

Chloé also perceives bilingualism as a way to enrich one’s general knowledge and ability to learn.

HALL.24 Quand elles verront dans un film une phrase en français, ou une référence au français, elles diront: “Oh ben tiens, on est allé là.” Et qu’elles se rendent compte que c’est important. Par exemple, l’orthographe d’Aurore, y a des mots sur lesquels je dis: “Ah ben ça c’est un mot français, c’est le même mot en français.” Ou alors si elle oublie des lettres, je dis: “Voilà comment ça se prononce en français”.
When they see a French sentence in a film, or a reference to French, they’ll say: “Oh yes, we’ve been there”. And they’ll realise that it’s important. Aurore’s spelling, for example, there are words about which I say: “Oh this is a French word, it’s the same word as in French”. Or if she forgets the spelling I say: “this is how it’s pronounced in French”.

Non-French parent’s approach

George speaks English exclusively to his daughters. He is able to follow most conversations in French between Chloé and the children. In France, he reports being able to ‘get by’ and understand native French speakers if ‘they adjust their speed’. Overall, George has few opportunities to practice his French considering that Chloé’s mother is a native English speaker and most friends of the family ‘will switch to English’ when addressing him.

In his email interview, George explains that he had ‘no choice’ and ‘no input’ in the plan of raising bilingual children because he simply ‘married a French woman’. These comments coincide with Chloé’s who reports that her husband just ‘follows’ the plan. George adds:

HALL.25 If I had married an English woman and we just lived in the UK, I would not have sat down and thought about teaching my kids a second language.

Although George declares having no involvement in the decision to raise the children bilingually, he uses the first-person plural in his comments below.

HALL.26 I think we do it the right way. She (Chloé) speaks to them in French and I speak in English.

Although he fully relies on his spouse to raise their daughters bilingually, George shares Chloé's approach to HL transmission. They both agree on giving Aurore and Clara the freedom to express themselves in their language of choice.

HALL.27 The way we deal with it is simply positive, patient, with gentle encouragement rather than imposing rules about speaking a language. Our approach is if we carried on hammering French at them, eventually they will stop talking.

George perceives bilingualism as 'an advantage' that will offer his children geographical mobility and will benefit them professionally.

HALL.28 Brexit put aside, it gives them more opportunity to live and work in different places. It also sets them ahead of their peers in the working environment.

Parental Perception of Children's Language Attitudes.

As Chloé reports, she endeavours to look at bilingualism from her children's perspectives. She explains that 'to Aurore, speaking French is not natural' because she has been growing up in an English-speaking society. Overall, Chloé believes that her daughter has a positive attitude towards her HL since she has expressed the desire to speak more French during her holidays in France. She also reports that her high level of tolerance towards the use of English and translanguaging has been conducive to a relaxed atmosphere at home.

However, Chloé explains that language anxiety is one of the reasons why Aurore speaks mostly English to her mother. She declares that heritage speakers tend to worry about being judged and corrected by their parents. Drawing on her own experience, she reports still feeling embarrassed by her French accent when speaking English to her American mother.

HALL.29 C'est une question de gêne en fait, de honte vis-à-vis des parents. Moi j'ai pas envie de parler anglais à ma mère à cause de mon accent, j'ai pas envie qu'elle me reprenne.

Elles veulent pas ne pas bien le parler. Elle a pas envie de se faire reprendre.

It's about feeling uncomfortable actually, feeling embarrassed in front of your parents. I don't like speaking English to my mother because of my accent, I wouldn't want her to correct me.

They don't want not to speak it well. She does not feel like being corrected.

That said, Chloé trusts that her children will grow more confident and will develop their productive skills in French as they feel more secure. George made a similar prediction, which suggests that he may have discussed the question with his wife. He declares:

HALL.30 When Aurore is a bit older and has more confidence, she will start responding in French and we will encourage it.

Overall George believes that both Aurore and Clara perceive the language management at home as 'normal' because children 'just deal with it'.

Aurore's Attitude Towards the HL and Parental Language Management.

Overall, Aurore's interview suggests that she has a positive attitude towards her HL and culture. When asked by the researcher in what language she wanted to be spoken to, she chose French. Aurore responded in French during the first two minutes of the interview until she started groping for words. At that point, she was reminded that she could use English whenever necessary, which she did for most of the exchange. The discussion was, therefore, conducted in parallel modes (English-French), like Aurore's daily interactions with her mother.

Aurore reports feeling 'happy' about her mother speaking French to her because she finds it stimulating to 'learn new words'. Most of her responses indicate that she is comfortable with her mother using French at home and in presence of school friends.

HALL.31 *Interviewer: Et quand maman te parle en français devant tes copines anglaises, tu te sens comment?
And when mum speaks French in front of your English girlfriends, how do you feel?
*Aurore: [pause] Hmm happy.
*Interviewer: Donc c'est pas un problème?
So, it's not a problem?
*Aurore: Non. *No.*

However, Aurore expresses some feelings of HL anxiety when interacting with relatives in France. Although she ‘understand[s] everything’, she is not always confident about her French speaking skills.

- HALL.32 *Interviewer: Et tu te sens comment quand tu parles français avec ta famille en France?
And how do you feel when you speak French with your family in France?
- *Aurore: Fine.
- *Interviewer: Tu comprends tout ce qu'ils te disent?
Do you understand everything they say?
- *Aurore: [nodding]
- *Interviewer: Et tu peux dire tout ce que tu as envie de dire?
Are you able to say everything you want to say?
- *Aurore: Quelquefois. *Sometimes.*
- *Interviewer: Quelquefois. Et quand tu n'y arrives pas, tu te sens comment?
Sometimes. And when you are not able to, how do you feel?
- *Aurore: Scared [laughter].

Aurore’s comments clearly indicate her preference for English, mainly due to her higher level of proficiency in that language. She declares preferring English ‘[be]cause [she] know[s] almost every word’.

Although Aurore seems generally comfortable with the presence and use of the HL in her environment, she does not seem particularly enthusiastic about using it in the future.

- HALL.33 *Interviewer: (...) si tu deviens maman, tu voudras que tes enfants apprennent le français?
if you become a mum, will you want your children to learn French?
- *Aurore: Euh peut-etre. *Euh maybe.*
- *Interviewer: Peut-etre. Pourquoi? *Maybe. Why?*
- *Aurore: Je n'sais pas. *I don't know.*

Regarding her parent’s language management style, Aurore perceives positively her mother’s tolerance towards the use of English and translanguaging.

- HALL.34 *Interviewer: Est-ce que maman parfois te demande de parler français?

OK. Hmm does mummy sometimes ask you to speak French?

*Aurore: Non. **No**

*Interviewer: Jamais? **Never?**

*Aurore: [Shaking head]

*Interviewer: Et tu penses que c'est une bonne chose? **Do you think that it is a good thing?**

*Aurore: [nodding].

*Interviewer: Et si tu parles anglais à maman, comment elle reagit? **And if you speak English to mum, how does she react?**

*Aurore: Relaxed.

However, Aurore interprets her mother's relaxed approach as a lack of motivation to transmit the minority language. She does not seem to be aware of the reasons behind Chloé's language management choices.

HALL.35 *Interviewer: Ça a quelle importance pour maman que tu apprennes le français?
How important is it to your mum that you learn French?

*Aurore: Hmm [pause] hmm not that important.

*Interviewer: Pourquoi? **Why?**

*Aurore: Because [pause] [hesitation] she doesn't mind me talking English.

*Interviewer: D'accord. Si c'était important, elle ferait quoi alors?
OK. If it was important, what would she do then?

*Aurore: Force me to speak French [laughter]

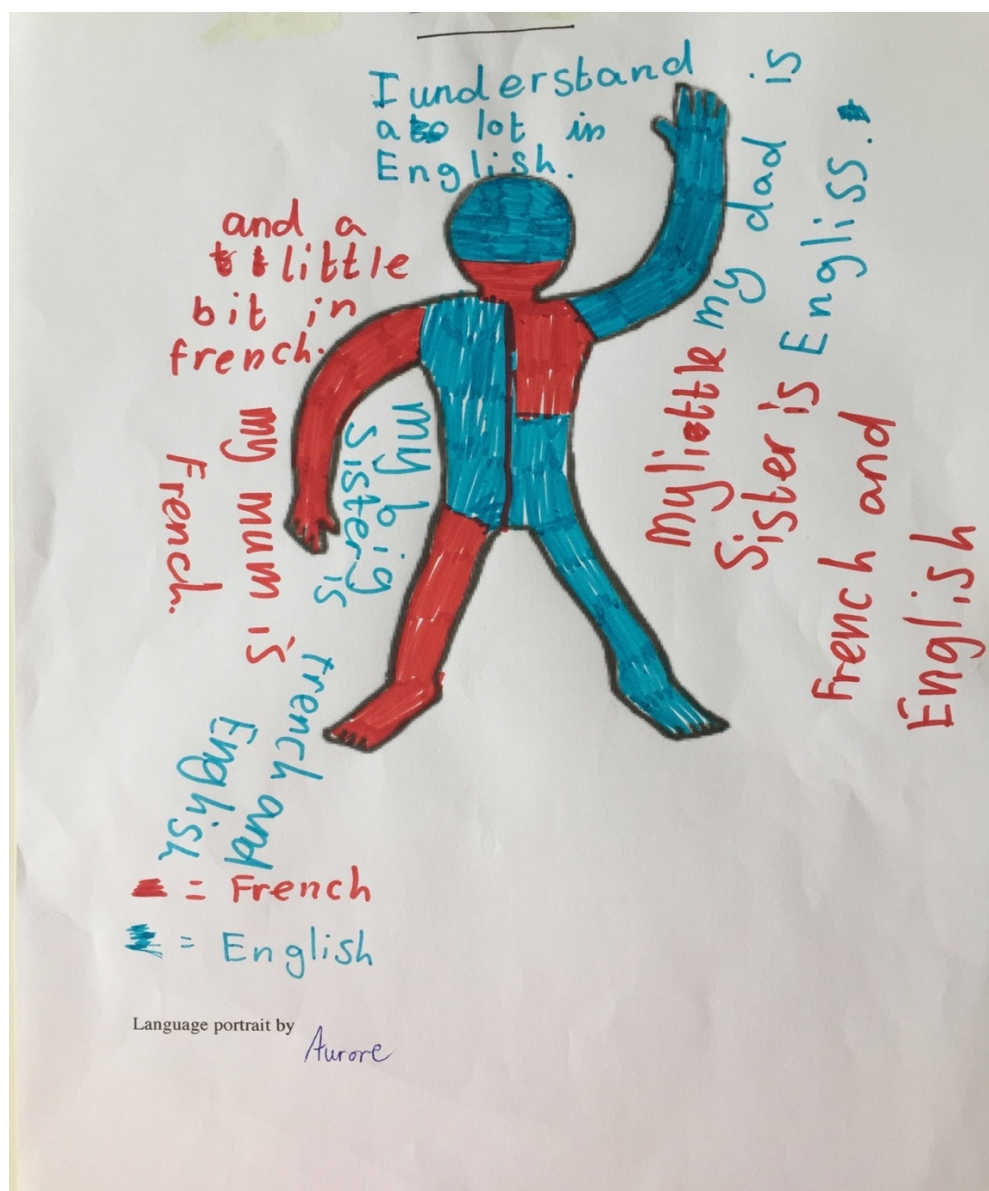
*Interviewer: [laughter] Et elle te forcerait comment?
And how would she force you?

*Aurore: She'd say it over and over again to me.

*Interviewer: Aaah, but she doesn't do that. **Oooh, but she doesn't do that.**

*Aurore: Non [smiling].

Figure 16: Aurore's Language Portrait



As with the previous language portraits, Aurore's figure reflects a complex and nuanced experience of bilingualism where both languages seem intertwined. Her description of the portrait indicates that she associates one's level of language proficiency with his or her cultural identity. For instance, her older sister is 'half-French, half-English', while her younger sister 'knows a quarter French and quite a bit of English'.

HALL.36 Bleu c'est anglais parce que euh (*English is in blue because hmm*) [hesitation] it's the flag. It has a bit of blue in it and red. And bleu, blanc, rouge, I chose red for French. I understand a lot of English, and a little bit of French. My dad is English that's how I know a lot of English. And my mum is French, that's how I learned a bit of French. Hmm my big

sister is half English, half French. My little sister knows a quarter of French and quite a bit of English [laughter].

Aurore's portrait also confirms that she is sensitive to and aware of her skills in each of her languages. The head of the silhouette is almost entirely blue (for English) and accompanied by the caption: 'I understand a lot in English'. Her language portrait reflects some of the views she expressed during the interview. She is comfortable with her French heritage; however, she strongly identifies as English.

HALL.37 *Interviewer: Why is there more blue than red?
 *Aurore: Because we're an English family.

5.2 Cross-Case Analysis & Discussion

Thematic analysis was carried out collectively on all interviews in order to identify significant themes. The results provided responses to research questions

- 2) What is the relationship between parents' language beliefs, language management and language practices?**
- 3) What is the relationship between family language policy and parents' experiences of transnationalism and bilingual childrearing?**
and
- 4) How does FLP impact children's bilingual experiences?**

This section presents and discusses the findings of the cross-case analysis. Themes related to the parents' perspectives are presented, followed by themes connected to the children's experiences and perspectives.

5.2.1 The Parents' Perspectives

Parental Motivations.

The six French parents who took part in this research described the transmission of the minority language as an essential part of their childrearing experiences. The great importance given to HL development by these participants is in line with the results of many other studies across various sociolinguistic communities (Lee and Suarez, 2005; Little 2017; Nesteruk, 2010; Rasinger, 2013; Zhang and Slaughter-Defoe, 2009). In this research, the predominant explicit motivation of minority-language parents for developing the HL is to build a bridge between the transnational nuclear family in England and the extended family in France. Minority-language parents in all 6 case studies, like many online survey respondents, consider the relationship between the children and their grandparents as a crucial aspect of their offspring's identity formation and they therefore feel responsible for facilitating and nurturing this intergenerational connection.

To a lesser extent, both the French and British parents justify the importance of HL transmission through popularised ideas regarding the intellectual, professional and social benefits of multilingualism. French-English bilingualism, in particular, is perceived by all participants as an educational advantage that ultimately provides children with better work prospects. The positive status of French in the UK and internationally (Baker, 2001, De Mejía, 2013) increases parental motivation to provide their young ones with the opportunity of bilingualism.

The idea of maximising children's learning potential is another justification for transmitting the HL reported by three French parents, Patrick, Rachel and Valérie. They believe that developing two languages simultaneously, at a young age, is the only path to achieving bilingualism, after which it would be too late. Patrick offered a detailed description of a learning window between the age of one and seven, when new neurological pathways in the brain are developed and children are able to 'acquire a language [and] a musical ear'. Rachel and Valérie shared the idea that if children do not acquire their HL in the early years, 'it is over'. These beliefs highlight the influence of academic research on families' language ideologies, as they reflect some of the theories of language acquisition, such as the idea according to which the ability to acquire language is biologically linked to age (Penfield and Roberts, 1959).

Besides the various reasons explicitly provided by parents, there seem to be some covert personal motivations to maintain French within the family. Valérie describes raising her son bilingually as 'a project' she set for herself during her pregnancy, as well as a 'personal investment'. Besides, words such as "failure" and "success" are used by Patrick, Rachel and Valérie to describe the possible outcomes of their bilingual childrearing experiences. Their comments suggest that they perceive their children's HL development as a measure of their parenting skills. While this seems particularly relevant to parents applying a rigorous language separation strategy, Vanessa and Chloé, who have more flexible language management styles, also see HL transmission as reflecting on the quality of their parenting. Both mothers explained that they should, at times, be more 'disciplined' in order to increase their children's exposure to French. Similarly, Mathilde, who has the most relaxed approach to bilingual childrearing, also describes HL development as a parent's duty to pass on one's knowledge to the next generation. According to all six French participants, it is the responsibility of a good parent to transmit the gift of bilingualism. This idea resonates with King and Fogle's (2006) concept of 'good parenting', according to which bilingual childrearing is connected to parents' identities as 'good' parents. Piller (2005: 614) has gone further and employed the

term ‘hyper-parenting’ to refer to the ‘management of children’s lives in pursuit of child success as a measure of parental achievement’. In this research, Patrick Bertrand’s efforts to encourage his son to achieve balanced bilingualism, along with music and Mandarin lessons, before the age of seven, seems to fit Piller’s definition of hyper-parenting. Because parents associate bilingual childrearing with the idea of good parenting, they also feel a strong sense of responsibility towards their children’s HL development.

Minority Language Parents’ Impact Belief.

The minority-language parents in this study describe themselves as highly responsible for their children acquiring the minority language. Rachel and Chloé declared being ‘99%’ and ‘100%’ responsible, respectively, for the development of their children’s French, and Vanessa states that raising her children bilingually ‘is on [her] head’. As for Patrick, he believes that his children would not develop the HL without his language management methods. These parents’ comments can be analysed through the lens of De Houwer’s (1998: 83) concept of ‘impact belief’ defined as ‘the parental belief that parents can exercise some sort of control over their children’s linguistic functioning’. For Vanessa, Chloé and Mathilde, who all have relatively relaxed language management methods, their strong impact beliefs simply result from the fact that they are the only source of daily HL input within the family. For Rachel, Patrick and Valérie, who enforce the exclusive use of French on their offspring, their strong impact beliefs go beyond the issue of exposure. The three parents perceive the brains of young children as malleable, and bilingualism as created through nurture. This idea is clearly articulated by Valérie who declares that ‘you can do whatever you want with the brain’ and that parents may decide ‘to let nature take its course’ or not. Rachel stated that children who did not speak the HL had parents ‘who decided not to make the effort’ and ‘let their children speak English to them’. Similarly, Patrick believes that a child’s language acquisition can only occur during early childhood and through parental stimulation. These high impact beliefs are reinforced by the fact that all six majority-language parents described their French spouses as entirely responsible for developing their children’s bilingualism.

Another explanation for the strong parental impact beliefs among all French participants is the idea that children do not fully grasp the importance of acquiring the HL, due to their lack of maturity. Parents, therefore, concluded that they held the responsibility for developing their young ones’ bilingualism until they were capable

of appreciating and reaping its benefits. A strong impact belief may sometimes weigh heavy on parents who experience bilingual childrearing as a difficult and lonely journey, as discussed in the next section.

HL Transmission Experienced as a Struggle.

The practical and affective difficulties associated with maintaining the HL within the family is a prominent theme among the minority-language participants. Four of the six French parents described their overall experiences of raising bilingual children as ‘hard’ (Valérie), ‘not easy’ (Vanessa), ‘challenging’ (Patrick) and as ‘a lot of work’ (Rachel). The use of such descriptors reveals their struggle to find the time and energy to invest in their children’s HL development. The additional workload of language transmission incumbent upon the minority-language parent has been thoroughly described in Okita’s study of English-Japanese families in the UK (2002). She highlighted the time-consuming and emotionally demanding ‘invisible work’ produced by Japanese mothers to ensure their children’s development of the HL. However, in the present research, the cases of Mathilde and Chloé show that experiencing bilingual childrearing as a struggle is not inevitable. Mathilde, who enjoys translinguaging frequently, declared that raising her son with two languages was ‘easy’. As for Chloé, who employs a rigorous OPOL method but allows her daughters to respond in English, she declares ‘lov[ing]’ her experience and finding it ‘enriching’. Although all six French parents concurred with the idea that raising a child bilingually was ‘not as easy as expected’, those who impose a rigorous language separation policy at home also declared being subject to high levels of anxiety. Valérie described her ‘burn out’ as a consequence of her ‘investment’ into her son Marc’s bilingual development and her fear that he would lose his HL. Patrick reports having gone through a period of depression due to the demanding nature of bilingual parenting. In their cases, the striving for equal exposure to both languages has become a great source of stress over the years. The quest for balanced bilingualism, in some middle-class families, often leaves parents feeling distressed and guilty, especially when their children do not meet their expectations (Piller, 2001). Patrick and Valérie’s accounts strongly contrast with the three French parents who opted for a more relaxed approach, and who did not report any negative emotions linked to raising bilingual children. These disparities suggest that parental language ideologies and the linguistic expectations associated with them impact on how parents experience bilingual childrearing.

Incongruent Views of Bilingualism among Minority-Language Parents.

Despite a certain level of homogeneity among the French parents' background in this research - all were born and raised in France, subsequently moved to England and married a native English speaker - their understandings of and approach to bilingualism vary widely. First, participants who chose a strict language management strategy justified their choice through monoglossic ideas of dual language development. This was also reflected in the exploratory factor analysis of the online survey results showing some degree of correlation between monoglossic beliefs and the adherence to a language separation strategy (see section 4.2). Rachel, Patrick and Valérie envisioned bilingualism as mastering two languages at the same level. All three parents endeavoured to achieve this goal by creating a French monolingual interactional space and by promoting the idea that 'the home is French' (Patrick). Rachel reported that she had 'looked for CNED (French national distance learning programme) courses so [her children] have the same level in both languages'. Patrick's objective was for Alain to 'speak [French], understand it, read it and write it as well as [him]'. As for Valérie, her language management was geared towards a perfect balance between English and French and she 'make[s] sure that one does not dominate the other'. This monoglossic approach to bilingualism also applied to literacy since parents with a low tolerance to the use of English at home chose not to read to their children in English. This traditional view of bilingualism as involving the rigid separation of two languages was extended to biculturalism as entailing an equally clear dichotomy between two separate cultures. Rachel, Patrick and Valérie placed high importance on developing their children's sense of French identity through teaching them cultural traditions and spending most of the school holidays in their homeland.

If monoglossic beliefs were predominant among parents with strict language separation policies, they could also be found in some of the comments made by participants who had implemented more relaxed language management. Although Mathilde described a heteroglossic view of bilingualism as a fluid phenomenon in which translanguaging plays a positive role, she also viewed languages as being compartmentalised in the multilingual brain. The fractional conception of the bilingual individual as the sum of two monolinguals with access to two separate linguistic systems (Grosjean, 1989) seems deeply ingrained in parental beliefs to the extent that it coexists with heteroglossic ideas of language. For many parents, monoglossic ideologies seemed to originate from parental guidebooks and

popularised research findings on bilingual parenting and dual language acquisition. Valérie and Rachel reported having read extensively about childhood bilingualism when they first became mothers. Besides, all minority-language parents in this research were familiar with the OPOL method, which has been well documented in the academic literature (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004).

In spite of the undeniable presence of some monoglossic ideas among parents, all described the acquisition and use of two languages as a dynamic phenomenon. Like a majority of the online survey respondents (65%, $n = 106$), the case study participants declared that translanguaging was a ‘normal’, or even beneficial practice for bilingual speakers. Patrick and Valérie, despite their strict ban on the use of English with their children, accepted translanguaging as ‘natural’. Even Rachel, who saw herself as a language ‘purist’, explained that forbidding translanguaging meant ‘placing a constraint on [the bilingual] brain’. As for Vanessa and Mathilde, both translanguaged daily and perceived this practice as positive because they believed that it enabled better communication. Besides, Mathilde gave a detailed account of her son’s ever-changing language choices depending on his environment, highlighting the fluid nature of multilingualism across space and time.

- | | | |
|---------|--------------|--|
| WHEEL.1 | *Researcher: | A quel moment va-t-il te parler français?
<i>At what point will he speak French to you?</i> |
| | *Mathilde: | Alors euh [thinking], le soir, le matin, la nuit, quand euh, quand il a besoin, quand on revient à la naissance, quand on revient à ses besoins primaires, en fait. Euh donc, quand il veut quelque chose, quand il veut me flatter, quand il me dit que je suis belle [laughter].
<i>So, well [thinking], in the evening, in the morning, at night, when hmm, when he needs it, when it takes him back to birth, when it comes down to his primary needs actually. Hmm, so, when he wants something, when he wants to flatter me, when he tells me I am pretty [laughter].</i> |

Comparably, Vanessa explained that Eric and Ella were able to express themselves in the HL when conversing with their French relatives, despite the fact that they spoke mostly English at home. She also believed that the children’s HL skills would rapidly develop if they were to live in France even though they did not use the language frequently. Parents’ beliefs in the heterogeneous nature of bilingualism seemed to be the result of their own experience of becoming bilingual. All six French participants reported having learned English through formal schooling, which they all described as an excessively rigid and inefficient method. They unanimously distinguished

between their sequential bilingualism and their children's dual language acquisition and described the latter as more 'organic' and 'natural'. In other words, they recognised, indirectly in some cases, their children's unique sociolinguistic environment and the existence of different types of bilingualism. Even Patrick, who did not tolerate any use of English at home, declared that translanguaging '[was] more natural for [the children]' than it is for him because they are growing up with two languages. Vanessa also emphasised the different experiences of simultaneous bilinguals and those who learned a second language in their adult life. Valérie did not consider herself bilingual because, unlike her son Marc, she did not grow up with two languages and two cultures.

As discussed in this section, parental ideologies are often a complex mix of monoglossic and heteroglossic ideas. The coexistence of incongruent beliefs in parents' minds may lead them to make contradictory claims regarding the best language management strategy to follow. Mathilde, despite having opted for a flexible language management and describing translanguaging as enhancing communication, also stated that bilinguals dealt with two separate linguistic entities, and that in order for her son John to further develop his HL, she would have to code-mix less and speak more French. Chloé, who grew up as a heritage speaker of English and described bilingualism as a fluid phenomenon, also declared that implementing a highly consistent OPOL strategy is best for HL development.

Parents' levels of tolerance to translanguaging and their positions on the monoglossic-heteroglossic spectrum shape their language expectations for their offspring. Patrick, Rachel and Valérie, who appeared to hold the strongest monoglossic perspectives, expected their children to achieve close to balanced bilingualism and biculturalism. Mathilde, Chloé and Vanessa, who consciously decided to pursue a flexible approach, explained that their language management may not be optimal for HL development but that it provided 'good enough' results. They were happy with their children's ability to express themselves in French when the circumstances required it. This study shows that the coexistence of contradictory language ideologies (monoglossic and heteroglossic) among some participants produced discrepancies between their language beliefs and their language practices.

Language Practices and Language Ideologies.

As shown in the interview and observation data, parents' ideas about bilingualism did not necessarily translate into language management practices. For instance, whilst Rachel perceived translanguaging as 'intellectual laziness', all other French parents

appeared to view this practice as natural and/or positive. Nonetheless, Patrick, Valérie and Chloé's language strategies were based on following rigorous language consistency and excluding the use of English and translanguaging. A recurrent theme among all four parents who employ a strict language separation strategy was the idea that translanguaging was a slippery slope towards the children's exclusive use of the majority language. In other words, children would perceive their parents' use of English as a green light to stop speaking the minority language. Therefore, these parents did not ban translanguaging owing to a negative perception of it but simply as a way to counteract their children's natural tendency to select English as their default language. Their reasoning can be summarised by the following comment from Rachel:

COLL.7 À la minute où [hesitation] un enfant comprend qu'il peut parler aux parents en anglais, et donc papa ou maman répond en français de toutes façons, ils arrêtent de parler français. Et donc le niveau baisse.
From the moment [hesitation] a child understands that she can speak English to the parents, and that dad or mum will respond in French anyway, she stops speaking French. And, therefore, the proficiency level goes down.

Mathilde, Vanessa and Chloé chose not to impose any language rules on their children despite knowing that this might lead to a lesser use of French in their interactions. A common belief among these three mothers was the idea that a strict language management style would prompt the children to reject the HL. They explained that imposing the use of French, or even only insisting on children speaking French would make them perceive HL development as a 'chore', a term which appeared in all three mothers' interviews. Another view jointly held by Mathilde, Vanessa and Chloé was that a flexible approach to language use at home encouraged communication. They all declared that a strict HL-only rule would prevent children from expressing themselves freely and spontaneously, given their preference for and higher proficiency in English. Therefore, the high tolerance of these parents towards translanguaging should not be interpreted as a lack of self-discipline but rather as an attempt to preserve parent-child communication at the expense of HL development. The six case studies highlighted the fact that differences between FLPs are not always the product of highly different language beliefs. Instead, they may reflect which aspects of a bilingual child's life parents tend to prioritise. That being said, if parents provided explicit justifications for their language management methods, there also appeared to be more covert factors contributing to parental language choices and the

discrepancies within FLPs. In the next section, the influence of parents' sense of cultural identity on their language choices is discussed.

Parental Cultural Identity and Language Management Choices.

During the interviews with French parents, their level of attachment to their country of origin and their attitudes towards British culture became apparent. Interestingly, although no direct questions regarding these two topics were asked by the researcher, the semi-structured form of the interviews allowed participants to raise any points that they associated with bilingual childrearing. Their value judgements on French and British cultures revealed that these parents' language practices and management were also determined by the degree to which they had adopted the local culture. For instance, Rachel, Patrick, and Valérie all proclaimed as one their preference for the French way of life.

- COLL.12 En rentrant en France et ben ils se rendent compte que c'est tellement mieux : la nourriture, et puis Mamie, les cousins, cousines ; 't'as vu, en France, ils ont pas d'uniformes à l'école, ça serait tellement mieux de venir en France à l'école' [laughter].
When they go back to France, they realise that it's so much better: the food, and Gran, the cousins, 'Oh see, in France they don't wear school uniforms, it'd be so much nicer to go to school in France [laughter]'. (Rachel)
- WATS.24 Je trouve ça très compliqué parce qu'on vit pas comme eux (...) Parce que c'est pas que je suis stricte sur la bouffe, je mange pas comme les anglais. Tu vois ce que je veux dire? La junk food c'est pas mon truc (...) Baked beans-pizza le soir, mon fils il mange pas ça (...) On a n'a pas du tout le même mode de vie.
I find it very complicated because we don't live like they do (...) Because it's not that I'm strict with food, but I don't eat like the English. Do you know what I mean? Junk food isn't my thing (...) Baked beans-pizza in the evening, my son doesn't eat that (...) We don't have the same lifestyle at all. (Valérie)
- BERT.39 Je crois que Alain parle beaucoup de la France, avec une vision assez romantique de la France, il aimerait vivre en France. On a la maison en X (location). Il aime beaucoup la maison en X, il aime le ski, le ski c'est en France, c'est pas en Angleterre. Le soleil, c'est en France, c'est pas en Angleterre. Donc il y a ce côté que j'entretiens.
I think that Alain talks a lot about France. He has a fairly romantic idea of France, he would like to live in France. We have a house in X (location). He likes the house in X a lot, he likes skiing, skiing happens in France, not in England. The sunshine is in France, not in England. So, I do cultivate this idea. (Patrick)

After over twenty years in the UK, Rachel, Patrick, and Valérie all reported that they felt more comfortable in a French-speaking environment and would never read for leisure in the majority language. Very similarly to the Chinese retired couple living in the UK, in Zhu and Li (2016: 661), these three parents displayed ‘a typical diasporic mentality of living in one place and thinking of (living in) another place, feeling a sense of belonging somewhere else, and imagining the prospect of returning’. Interestingly, Rachel used the term ‘go back’ when referring to her children’s visits to France despite the fact that they were born in England and had never resided in their mother’s homeland.

Rachel, Patrick, and Valérie’s preference for their French language and culture comes with some strong criticism of their perception of the British way of life. Valérie, as described in the case study report, employed strongly derogatory terms to explain her rejection of English culture in its totality, from eating habits to the ‘pragmatic mentality’. It seems that all three parents’ motivations to ban English from their interactions with their children may not be dictated simply by a desire to promote HL acquisition. Their language strategies at home also appear to be intended to preserve their own cultural identities. The family home is perceived as a safe space in which they can have control of their linguistic and cultural environment. For instance, Patrick’s statement that ‘the home is French’ echoes the following comment from Valérie:

WATS.36 Je sais que l'environnement autour est dominant. Mais moi dans ma vie, je n'en veux pas. (...) je veux que ça m'atteigne le moins possible.
I know that the surrounding environment is dominant. But I do not want any of it in my life (...) I want it to reach me as little as possible.

Although the long-standing area of debate between assimilation and integration is outwith the scope of this research (Borooah and Mangan, 2009), the data suggests that there may be a link between parents’ family language planning and their readiness to embrace the culture in which they live. Patrick, Rachel and Valérie also expressed a certain degree of nostalgia for their homeland. The three parents revealed their desire to return to France and the impossibility of doing so, due to their spouse’s work commitments in Britain, as well as what Rachel and Valérie perceived as a lack of effort on the part of their husbands. Like the Chinese and Korean parents in Zhu and Li (2016), Rachel, Patrick, and Valérie ‘travel between memory and imagination’ (Zhu and Li 2016: 665) – the memory of what their lives and childhoods used to be in France and the vision of what their family life would be if they were to return to their home country. In the case of Patrick, and even more so for Valérie and Rachel,

the transmission of the HL resembles a continuation of their own cultural identity. To the question of what the transmission of French meant to her, Valérie answered: ‘C'est tout MOI’ (‘It’s all of ME’). As for Rachel, she explained that it meant ‘transmit[ting] a part of herself’. The emotional need of these parents to maintain the HL seems to reflect the concept of pre- and post-migration selves, according to which transnational parents see the minority language as an essential part of their own identity (Czubinska, 2017; Little, 2017).

Patrick, Rachel and Valérie’s experiences of bilingual childrearing contrast strongly with those of Mathilde, Vanessa and Chloé. Mathilde reported ‘falling in love’ with Britain when she first arrived in the country, thirty years ago. She declared that she no longer felt French and did not ‘live like an expat’. Vanessa declared that it had become easier to speak and write in English than in French. She reported that speaking French to her children required a conscious effort as she would naturally tend to use English. Vanessa also explained that France was associated with the first twenty years of her life, suggesting that the following two decades spent in the UK were just as important to her. Chloé’s bilingual family history, with a mother who is American and regular contacts with her English-speaking grandparents as a child, is such that she did not associate her *Frenchness* with her former life in France. Instead, she described her French and English experiences as tightly intertwined. Unlike the three cases previously described, these three mothers appeared to be comfortable with the idea of a long-term future in the UK and did not mention any plan or desire to return to France. This may have contributed to their acceptance of bilingual interactions with their children. As Hirsch and Lee (2018) propose, parents’ original intended duration of stay in the host country and any potential plan to return to the homeland, influence the family’s language policy. In this research, the level of tolerance displayed by French parents towards the use of English at home is related to the perceived permanency or impermanency of their move to the UK. Rachel and Valérie clearly expressed their desire to ‘go back’ at some point in the future, while Patrick already made an attempt to move his family to France only to return to the UK, shortly afterwards, for professional reasons. Hirsch and Lee (2018: 3) argue that *transnational* is an umbrella term which includes two categories of migrants, differentiated by the intended permanency (immigrants) or impermanency (settlers) of their location. This distinction relates to Mathilde’s comments on some of her friends whom she referred to as ‘expats’.

WHEEL.19 Tu vois je suis pas une expat, dans le sens où je retourne pas en France pour acheter ma bouffe et mes vêtements (...) [laughter] Mais c'est vrai.

C'est vrai. Les expats c'est: 'la bouffe n'est pas bonne', et, et alors quand on rentre en France, alors les voitures, de gens que je connais, que j'aime beaucoup, 'Mais Pourquoi t'achètes ça en France? Tu peux pas acheter la poussette en Angleterre? C'est la même chose'. C'est ça, j'arrive pas à comprendre.

You see, I'm not an expat, in the sense that I don't go back to France to buy my food and my clothes (...) [laughter] But it's true. It's true. Expats are like: 'the food isn't good', and, and then, when one goes to France, then the cars of some people I know and whom I appreciate a lot, 'But why are buying this in France? Can't you buy the pushchair in England? It's all the same'. That's what I don't understand.

In other words, Mathilde saw herself as an *immigrant*, while so-called 'expats' would be *settlers*, according to Hirsch and Lee's definition (2018). Mathilde, like Vanessa and Chloé, did not mention any intent to return to France in the long-term future. Their perspectives were consistent with their acceptance of the fact that their children preferred the English language and that they may even feel more British than French. On the contrary, for Patrick, Rachel and Valérie, conserving the HL appeared to be a way of fighting assimilation to the host culture and preserving the possibility of moving the family to France in the future. For these three participants, raising children outside of the home country had created a desire to assert certain aspects of their culture of origin, in order to counteract the hegemony of the English language and cultural values. These parents' experiences reflect 'the complex relationship between language and identity in the context of migration' (Zhu and Li 2016: 664). The data also suggest that parents' perceptions of the permanency or impermanency of their residence in the UK is a highly subjective and relative notion, independent of the actual amount of time already spent in the host country. Valérie and Rachel had been living in England for twenty years and yet, they seemed to perceive their move as impermanent. They both reported that meeting their British spouses was the reason why they *ended up* staying in the UK longer than intended. Besides, Valérie and Rachel stated that their return to the homeland was being prevented by their husbands' lack of skills in the minority language.

The Contribution of Majority-Language Parents to FLPs

All six British parents in this study described bilingualism as a very important aspect of their children's lives and as an asset for their future. Therefore, the question of whether to raise the children bilingually was not described as a source of conflict between the minority and the majority-language parents. They also commonly

declared agreeing with their respective French partners on the family's language management approach. Besides, all British parents – with the exception of Laura Bertrand, a fluent French speaker and a French teacher- reported having no authority on the topic of HL transmission, essentially due to a perceived lack of French skills, as shown in samples of their email interviews below.

- BRAD.19 It was a simple understanding that in the world we live in it is always better to speak a number of languages, and that Vanessa would teach them French.
-Carl Bradford (Vanessa's husband)
- HALL.38 No choice. I married a French woman. Chloé's natural mother tongue is French so she feels more comfortable speaking to the children in French. I did not really have an input.
-George Hall (Chloé's husband)
- WATS.36 I do not speak French to Marc because it was decided that it was better not to do so and not to confuse Marc (Dad speaks English, Maman speaks French), especially with my bad pronunciation in French and with an English accent (...) It was the focus (dream) of Valérie that Marc would become bilingual, and I always supported her, even when she wanted Marc to go to pre-school in France for 3 months for two consecutive years.
-Theo Watson (Valérie's husband)
- WHEEL.28 Joint decision between me and my wife but she is doing all the heavy lifting. As a family we speak in English as my wife's accent is virtually perfect in English but it is only my wife who speaks in French to our son as I want my son to have a perfect French accent, not to be tainted by my poor accent or grammar.
-Gareth Wheeler (Mathilde's husband)
- COLL.12 It was important to Rachel. I did not really have an input since I do not speak French!
-Allan Collins (Rachel's husband)

These fathers' perspectives are interestingly similar. First, they believed that their lack of proficiency in French made them unfit to decide on the FLP. There was also the common idea that they should refrain from interacting in 'bad' French with the children as it could 'confuse' them or 'taint' their HL development. Consequently, in all six families, the French parent was perceived, by both the majority and majority language partners, as the legitimate language policy maker. Due to this traditional conception of the native speaker as the only legitimate speaker (Garcia, 2009; Sembiente, 2016; Soler and Zabroskadjia, 2017), the majority-language parents believed that they had no role in shaping the FLP and, therefore, relied entirely on the minority-language parent to take and implement language decisions. In other

words, and contrary to the French participants, the British parents in this study have very low impact beliefs. Laura Bertrand was an exception among the majority-language parents in the sense that her fluent French had enabled her and Patrick to establish a HL-only rule at home. According to her statement below, the language management strategy was a joint agreement between them.

BERT.27 We discussed it and agreed that the children needed French to fully understand their bi-national identities, so we speak French all together at home. Even though my native language is English, speaking French at home wouldn't work so well if I spoke English to the children.

Laura's involvement in the FLP was such that the Bertrands' home linguistic environment was similar to that of an all-French family living in the UK.

Paradoxically, although some of the French parents themselves recognised their spouses' lack of linguistic legitimacy, they also interpreted their low impact beliefs as an intentional lack of support or effort on their part. Vanessa attributed her husbands' poor French skills to a lack of 'interest in learning languages'. As for Rachel and Valérie, they both declared that their respective life partners were simply 'not willing to make an effort'. A perceived lack of contribution from the majority-language parents was, in some cases, regarded by their minority-language spouses as an obstacle to HL transmission. Vanessa, despite her relaxed language management approach, explained that her husband's insufficient listening skills and lack of involvement in the FLP was the main obstacle to HL transmission.

BRAD.6 Quand on parle à table le soir, ben on est obligé de parler anglais parce que sinon euh on a [hesitation] y a une personne qui comprend pas quoi. Donc ça c'est un peu dommage. C'est ça aussi qui fait la différence j'imagine (...) Ben mon mari, c'est sur ma tête quoi, c'est pas son problème en fait [laughter]
When we're talking at the dinner table, then we have to speak English, because, otherwise, we have euh [hesitation] there is someone who doesn't understand. So, it's a bit of a shame. That's also what makes the difference I guess (...) Well, for my husband, it's all on me, it's not his problem [laughter]

In Valérie and Rachel's cases, their spouse's lack of production skills in French is perceived as the obstacle to establishing a minority-language-only policy at home, which would be their preferred option. As a result, both use the OPOL method as a default language management strategy. Valérie and Rachel also mentioned that their husbands' low levels of proficiency in French were a hindrance to their long-desired return to their home country.

While 5 of the 6 English parents stated that they had no impact on their offspring's bilingual development, the observations conducted within the families indicated otherwise. What majority-language parents do and do not do may equally influence the family's language use. For instance, and as demonstrated in the Wheelers' case study (Case Study D), Mathilde's husband, Gareth, despite his limited skills in French, used short utterances allowing the conversation to continue in the minority language. This suggests that even some simple and brief input in French, from the English parent, may be sufficient to encourage further use of the minority language within a family conversation and, at the same time, alleviate some of the pressure experienced by the minority-language parent. The Wheeler family's linguistic patterns strongly contrasted with Vanessa's experience. She felt limited in her use of French with the children during family time due to Carl's (her husband's) inability to understand spoken French. As for the Bertrand family, Laura's fluent French allowed Patrick to establish a minority-language only policy at home, in which they both shared the task of transmitting French to the children. Last, in Chloé's, Rachel's and Valérie's cases, their OPOL method was partly and indirectly determined by their husbands' lack of fluency in French. The observed interactions in Chloé's and Rachel's homes suggested that their spouses did not encourage the children's use of their HL at any point during the conversations, making the French parent's task more laborious. The data indicates that parents tend to underestimate the role of the majority-language partner in shaping the family's language use patterns. This result was also reflected in the online survey responses according to which 43% ($n = 76$) of French parents never discussed their language management choices with their partners or spouses. While majority-language parents may either positively or negatively affect HL maintenance, they certainly have an influence on the FLP dynamic. Unfortunately, the role of the majority-language speaking parent remains unexplored in research with multilingual families (Venables, Eisenclas and Schalley, 2014) despite the fact that FLP is a multi-actor and complex phenomenon in which all family members may play a part. Besides, since the notion of heritage is also experienced differently by the various family members (Blackledge and Creese, 2008), both parents' views on what it means to maintain the minority language within the family may differ greatly. While the minority-language parent often has an emotional stake in the maintenance of the HL, the majority-language parent's motivations are generally more pragmatic (Little, 2017). Such considerations are not always obvious to families since interactions happen in a habitual and natural environment and are often conducted unconsciously. This is why parents may not

always perceive the need to examine the interpersonal effects of multilingualism within the family.

Parents' Lack of Insight into Children's FLP Experiences.

In their email interviews, the majority-language parents described their family's multilingualism as 'organic', 'normal' and 'natural'. In their statements below, the British parents unanimously declared that their children were unaware of parental language strategies and that they had simply accepted their bilingualism as a given.

- WHEEL.29 'He is unaware...he knows no difference; it is natural to him.'
 – Gareth Wheeler
- WATS.37 'Marc knows no difference.' – Ted Watson
- HALL.39 'They just think it is normal. They are children and just deal with it.'
 – George Hall
- COLL.13 'They think it's normal.' – Allan Collins
- BRAD.20 'I am not sure I see any impact. It is very normal for them.'
 – Carl Bradford
- BERT.28 'They are unaware.' – Laura Bertrand

As for the French parents, all reported that they had never asked their children about their feelings towards their HL or about their perspectives on parental language management methods. Therefore, parents' descriptions of their offspring's thoughts and sentiments were based on their impressions and observations of their children's behaviours. Children's accounts of their experiences of bilingualism in the interviews and through their language portraits often contradicted parental perceptions. For instance, both Rachel and Patrick stated that their children had positive attitudes towards their parents' efforts to conduct monolingual French interactions. However, H         reported feeling 'annoyed' by her mother's French-only policy, while Alain explained that his father's language rules made him 'sad' and 'angry'. One of the reasons why these negative feelings have remained unidentified may be the fact that children do not always expressly reject their parents' language management techniques. Alain, H        , Eric and Ella all reported remaining silent whenever they felt bothered by their parents' language choices or demands.

If none of the minority-language parents had purposefully enquired about their children's perspectives on growing up in a bilingual household, those who had opted for more flexible language management styles seemed more in tune with their

offspring's experiences. Vanessa, Mathilde and Chloé each provided an analysis that was consonant with their children's reports. For instance, Vanessa accurately described the differences in Eric and Ella's responses to HL learning, due their different personalities (Case study B). Chloé identified some degree of HL anxiety in her daughter, consistent with Aurore's avowal that she felt 'scared' about her inability to fully express herself in French. Mathilde's statement that her son, despite enjoying the French language and culture, did not feel French, was confirmed by John's comments during his interview.

The 6 French parents confidently described their children's sense of cultural identity despite the fact that they all also declared that they had not directly discussed the topic with them. Their perceptions often seemed to be a reflection of their own level of attachment to French and British cultures. Mathilde declared that 'John did not feel French because [she] d[id] not feel French [her]self'. While Mathilde's analysis turned out to be congruent with John's report, this was not the case for all families. Chloé, for instance, stated that Aurore felt 'half-French, half-English' whereas her daughter described herself and her family as 'English'. Vanessa also reported that her two children felt 'half-half', while her son, Eric, declared that he saw himself as mostly English. This data supports Blackledge and Creese's (2008: 537) idea that the notion of heritage language transmission must be approached carefully as it is not simply the process of 'passing on' a language and a culture. Instead, one needs to take into account the complex relationship between language, culture and identity. This research also indicates that, overall, parents do not overtly discuss the topic of bilingualism and biculturalism with their children (Little, 2017). As a result, they are not always aware of their children's true attitudes towards the HL and the FLP, nor their sense of cultural identity. This was also reflected in the online survey results according to which 18% of parents had 'no opinion' on whether they children enjoyed speaking their HL. Ironically, the research also indicates that children as young as six years old have a good awareness of their parents' language strategies and the dynamics within the FLP, as shown in the next section.

5.2.2 The Children's Perspective

Children's Awareness of the FLP

As discussed previously, parents reported that they had never explained their language management approach to their children. However, the eight young participants in this research were not only able to accurately describe family language practices, but they were also aware of the parental language management methods shaping such practices. For instance, Alain Bertrand (6), accurately explained that his father would speak French most of the time, 'except for when he was angry'. He also accurately explained that speaking English would lead his father to 'ignore' him until he would switch to French. Hélène (9) and Antoine (16) gave a detailed account of their mother's language strategies and specified that 'she'll normally say she doesn't understand because we're speaking English [but] she *does* understand. Aurore, John, Eric and Ella are aware of their parents' flexibility in terms of language choice. Aurore described her mother's approach as 'relaxed', whilst Eric and Ella stated that she did not mind them speaking English. The congruence between children's and parent's reports suggests that research participants as young as six years old can provide valuable and reliable perspectives on FLP.

The children and adolescents in this research also seemed to understand that HL transmission was important to their French parents. All reported that maintaining French within the family had a practical and a sentimental significance for the minority-language parent. In the Bradford and Wheeler families, which have flexible language practices, Eric and Ella would consciously elect to use the HL in a given situation, based on its emotional significance for their mother. The two siblings reported 'trying to speak French when [their mother] [was] tired after work' or when 'they want[ed] something [from her]'. Their parents also stated that the children spoke French 'to please' their mother or when 'they want something from [her]'. Comparably, Mathilde Wheeler declared that John tended to speak French when he wanted to 'flatter [her]' or when he needed affection. The Bertrand family's French-only policy did not provide enough scope for the young ones to use the emotional aspect of the HL. However, in the observed exchange, at the family home, Alain used his knowledge of French to obtain his father's approbation, as shown in the conversation sample below.

BERT.19

*Anne, 3 (Alain's sister): Picture!

*Patrick:

Pardon?

*Anne:	Picture.
*Patrick:	Oui, c'est le premier mot qu' t'as dit en anglais. <i>Yes, that was the first word you said in English</i>
*Alain, 6:	En français c'est comme 'image'. <i>In French it's like 'image'.</i>
*Patrick:	Comme 'image', tout à fait Alain. <i>As in 'image', absolutely Alain.</i>
*Alain:	Mais en français. <i>But in French.</i>
*Patrick:	Oui. <i>Yes.</i>

The relationship between language and emotions (Pavlenko, 2012) is another factor adding to the complexity of multilingual families' practices, which parents might not always be aware of, while caught up in their daily routine.

Children's Language Attitudes.

Whilst the eight children in this research were being exposed to different FLPs, all declared being happy about the fact that they could speak two languages. However, most children found it difficult to explain the reasons for their reportedly positive attitudes towards the HL and bilingualism. Developing their French in order to communicate with the extended family was a recurrent idea among most of the young participants, but it also closely resonated with their parents' reported motivations for maintaining the minority language. It is possible that the children's comments were strongly influenced by their parents' discourses. Besides, given that most parents reported that they had never discussed bilingualism and FLP with their children, it may have been the case that the young participants were not accustomed to reflecting on these topics.

Whilst children did not provide any explicit justifications for their positive HL attitudes, the presence of French as a foreign language within the British school curriculum appeared to be an implicit factor. All young participants in this study reported having French lessons at their mainstream primary or secondary schools. The younger children, Alain (6), John (6) and Aurore (8), explained that they enjoyed their special heritage speaker's status during French lessons, where they were asked to take on the role of 'teacher's assistant' and help their classmates. Older children and teenagers, Hélène (9), Marc (10), Eric (11), Ella (13) and Antoine (16), clearly identified the opportunity to obtain an 'easy grade' in their French school assessments. The inclusion of these children's HL within mainstream education was an essential source of positive language attitude (Lee, 2012). Besides, these young participants also seemed to realise that the French language was generally positively

perceived in society (Baker, 2001; Guerrero 2010). This may explain why they all welcomed being spoken to in the HL in the presence of their friends or in public. Ella described her friends' reaction to hearing her speak French as follows: 'they're like, "oh keep speaking French, it sounds so good", I'm like [rolling her eyes].'

Whilst the children's explicit responses indicated that they viewed HL positively, a few other elements of data suggested that their attitudes towards French may be more nuanced and complex. For instance, Alain (6), Aurore (9) and Ella (13) revealed feeling anxious about speaking their HL in certain situations. Aurore and Ella felt 'scared' and intimidated when communicating with native speakers from France, whereas Alain's anxiety was related to not meeting his father's language expectations. The children's negative feelings linked to their HL are further discussed in subsequent paragraphs. Ironically, French supplementary schools, in which the young heritage speakers met their French-English bilingual peers, did not appear to contribute to positive HL attitudes. John (6), and Ella (13) were the only ones showing enthusiasm about attending their Saturday schools where they had developed good friendships. All other young participants commented on the additional workload involved in what they saw as an extra day of school. That being said, the negative attitudes towards the supplementary schools must be distinguished from children's attitudes towards the HL itself. Another important distinction is between language attitude and language preference, as discussed in the next section.

Children's Language Preferences

6 out of the 8 children in this study stated that they had a preference for English, thus showing that a positive attitude towards the HL was compatible with a preference for the majority language. Alain (6), reported that he enjoyed speaking French more than English. However, it is interesting to point out that he decided to discuss this with the researcher in English, despite being given the choice. He also declared that, as a father, he would not speak the HL to his children. This suggests that Alain's reported preference for the minority language may have been influenced by parental expectations. More evidence of children's overall preference for the majority language is provided by their use of English as the default language between siblings, even within the Bertrand and Collins families where the HL is strongly promoted.

The children's main reported reason for preferring English was simply that 'it [was] easier' for them given that they spent most of their day in an English-speaking environment and consequently, had a higher proficiency in the majority language. Therefore, their preference for English appeared to be based on pragmatism

Children's Holistic Experience of Bilingualism

COLL.14 *Hélène: Yeah it's fun. I like "what's" and "quoi's" [laughter]
 *Researcher: [laughter] (...) Do you think it's ok to mix?
 *Hélène: Yeah [pause] everyone calls it [hesitation] argh
 [looking for the term]
 *Antoine: Frenglish or franglais.
 *Researcher: Franglais? Tu parles franglais?
 *Hélène: [laughter]

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irrespective of the frequency at which they personally tended to translanguage. In other words, for them, there was no *right* or *wrong* language to speak. These young multilingual participants' beliefs resonate with Garcia's (2009) argument that languages are not discrete, countable entities. Instead, the children's accounts in this research suggest, in line with Blackledge and Creese's conclusion (2008: 534), that the notion of language varieties as separate and well-defined systems is a 'social construct'.

For this reason, any effort to produce a monolingual context despite the existence of their multilingual repertoire appeared to be counterintuitive to children. In the Collins and the Bertrand families, in which the minority-language parents refused to *understand* English, the children expressed their disapprobation of the parental language policy. The minority-language only rule implemented at the supplementary schools was also perceived negatively by most children. Younger participants such as Alain (6), John (6), Aurore (8) and Hélène (9) did not understand the need and purpose for the ban on English. The teenagers, Eric (11), Ella (13) and Antoine (16), understood that supplementary schools excluded the majority language in an attempt to increase HL exposure, but Eric and Ella declared that they still 'prefer[ed] to speak English to [their] friends'.

If children approved of or embraced translanguaging, they intuitively made judicious language choices according to the context. As suggested by the comments below, children would only translanguage when their interlocutors were French-English bilinguals themselves.

- | | | |
|---------|--------------|--|
| BRAD.21 | *Eric: | I'd say "Can I have this", in French and then I would say the word I want to have in English. Then I go back to French.
(...) |
| | *Researcher: | Do you only do that when speaking to your mum, or with other people too? |
| | *Ella: | With our French family we try hard to just, like, speak French. If I need to know something, I'll ask my mum and then go back and say it [laughter]. |
| | | |
| HALL.40 | *Researcher: | (...) C'est quand tu parles à maman que tu mélanges?
(...) Do you mix when speaking to mum? |
| | *Aurore: | [nodding] |
| | *Researcher: | D'accord. Et quand tu parles à d'autres personnes, tu mélanges aussi parfois?
Ok. And when you speak to other people, do you also sometimes mix? |
| | *Aurore: | Non.
No. |
| | *Researcher: | Non. Seulement à maman. Pourquoi? |

- No. Only with mum. Why?*
- *Aurore: Cause I know her.
- *Researcher: Et tu ne peux pas faire ça avec les gens que tu ne connais pas?
- And can't you do that with people you don't know?*
- *Aurore: [shaking her head]

Some children perceived language separation as necessary in order to show respect or politeness to monolingual interlocutors. Eric and Ella believed that using English in conversations involving their relatives in France was 'rude'. Antoine explained that a conversation involving his mother and an English monolingual interlocutor should be conducted in English as a sign of respect. Interestingly, the association between language choice and politeness was also a recurrent idea in Chloé's interview. As a mother who grew up as a French-English bilingual herself, her approach to code-mixing was similar to the children's in this study. Chloé did not offer any value judgement on translanguaging as a practice, but she was very mindful of adjusting her language choices according to her interlocutors' language knowledge, simply out of respect.

Children's attitudes to translanguaging, and their rejection of or disregard for language separation rules, indicate that they perceived bilingualism as a fluid and holistic phenomenon. This also became evident in their language portraits describing their bilingual experiences (see case studies). Although the children were asked to pick two different colours for French and for English, the delimitation between the two languages appeared blurry in all eight portraits. Children expressed the intertwining of their linguistic identities by mixing both colours on each side of the silhouette, as well as drawing the body's face and organs in the two colours. Through this free and creative method of expression (Bush 2017), children demonstrated that they had a 'distinctive self-identity which positively incorporate[d] elements from different settings into an integrated narrative' (Giddens, 1991: 190). This aspect of the children's language portraits reflects what Grosjean (1989: 6) describes as a 'holistic' experience of bilingualism, in which the bilingual person 'is not the sum of two complete or incomplete monolinguals'. Instead, the bilingual is a 'complete linguistic entity' in which languages and cultural identities are blended and interdependent. While the holistic nature of bilingualism transpired in all the language portraits, the 'unique and specific linguistic configuration' (Grosjean, 1989) of each multilingual child also appeared clearly in their comments and their drawings.

Children's Individual Experiences of Bilingualism.

The uniqueness of children's experiences of multilingualism is a salient aspect of this research. Each child expressed, through the interviews and through their language portraits, a unique understanding of bilingualism and biculturalism. The singularity of each experience was particularly evident among siblings being raised under the same roof, and therefore, sharing a similar family and social environment. The case of Eric (11) and Ella (13) shows some obvious differences in their perception of growing up bilingually. Whilst Eric displayed a certain lack of enthusiasm towards developing his French, Ella took the initiative to actively 'improve' her HL competence by speaking more French to her mother. Besides, Eric was confident and satisfied with his productive skills in French despite being aware of his limitations. His sister, on the other hand, declared feeling anxious about making mistakes in French and, for this reason, limited her use of the HL. Despite being raised in similar circumstances, Ella and Eric experienced bilingualism differently. In the Collins family, Rachel had endeavoured to be consistent along the years and had applied the same language approach to each of her three children. However, whilst her eldest son, Florian (18) had decided to study in France, Antoine (16) perceived the use of French as a necessary evil in order to communicate with his mother and obtain an excellent grade in his school French exam. As for the youngest, H  l  ne (9), she declared that, as an adult, she would only speak English to her children. This data implies that although parents' language management and ideologies may highly impact on their offspring's experience of bilingualism, each child's unique personal story determines how they receive and respond to parental input.

The case studies also revealed that very different FLPs may produce similar results, while similar language management methods may lead to different reactions among children. In the Bertrand family, where the use of French at all times was imposed on the children, Alain reported feeling anxious about not being able to understand his father who ‘knows more French than [he does]’. As described previously, Ella (13) whose mother’s relaxed language management included frequent translanguaging, also experienced some level of language anxiety. In the Hall family, where Chloé consistently used the OPOL method and tolerated the use of English by her daughters, Aurore (8) also reported feeling ‘scared’ sometimes about speaking French. Conversely, John (6) and Marc (10) who are exposed to extremely different language policies at home, both declared feeling comfortable speaking French in all circumstances. These children’s individual experiences strongly suggest that any attempt to predict the linguistic and cultural outcomes of a

productive skills. Although children's imaginary language choices may not become a reality in the future, they suggest that parental language strategies may have an impact on children's motivation to develop their HL once they become more independent from their caregivers. Most importantly, the children's comments revealed that penalising the use of English at home may become counterproductive as children have more and more freedom to make their own language choices. Alain and H  l  ne's cases clearly suggested that their negative attitudes towards the parental approach may result in their rejection of the HL.

Another salient point emerging from the case studies was the effect of parental language management on the quantity and the quality of communication between the child and the minority-language parent. As previously discussed, H  l  ne described how she regularly experienced frustration with not being able to speak English to her mother. She justified her irritation as follows:

COLL.11 I just feel annoyed cause I don't understand French as much. Cause some words that she says I don't understand. So [pause] they're just confusing me, and I get really annoyed, and I stop talking.

H  l  ne's comments clearly indicated that she would like to communicate with her mother but felt discouraged by what she perceived as a language barrier. Besides, as she and her brother Antoine reported, they were well aware that Rachel was proficient in English but simply refused to 'hear' it. This seemed to accentuate H  l  ne's frustration as she saw Rachel's approach as a deliberate hindrance to their mother-daughter communication. Another clear example of the impact of language management techniques on family communication is the recorded exchange at the Bertrand's home (see case study C). Whilst Alain (6) seemed to comply with the French-only rule during the conversation, his younger sister Anne (4) translanguage frequently. Her use of English caused the conversation to break down on a few occasions, as shown in the example below.

BERT.16	*Anne:	Papa, o�� est your glasses? <i>Where are your glasses?</i>
	*Patrick:	Pardon? <i>Pardon?</i>
	*Laura:	O��...? <i>Where...?</i>
	*Anne:	O�� est hmm [pause] your lunettes? <i>Where is hmm [pause] your lunettes?</i>
	*Patrick:	O�� sont tes lunettes? Dans le salon. <i>Where are your glasses? In the sitting-room.</i>
	*Laura:	Tu peux le dire Anne? ' O��...' <i>Can you say it Anne? 'Where....'</i>
	*Anne:	O��... [hesitation] <i>'Where...[hesitation]</i>
	*Patrick:	[Firm tone] Anne, on dit ' O�� sont tes lunettes?'

Anne, we say ‘Where are your glasses?’

In the conversation sample above, Anne's attempt to communicate was suppressed by her parents' focus on the linguistic correctness of her utterance. In this case, Anne was not encouraged to pursue her enquiry regarding the whereabouts of her father's glasses since her parent's language corrections took over the conversation. Patrick and Laura appeared to have taken on the role of language teachers (Okita, 2002), and their error management techniques seemed to negatively impact on the parent-child communication. Marc's mother, Valérie, had a zero-tolerance policy for the use of English and translanguaging during their interactions. Like Hélène, Marc reported keeping the conversations short on certain occasions.

- WATS.38
- *Marc: Euh des choses qu'on a fait à l'école, ben euh j'en parle pas beaucoup.
Euh things we do at school, well euh I don't speak about it much.
(...)
- *Interviewer: Maman ne te demande pas tous les jours : "Qu'est-ce que tu as fait à l'école?"
Doesn't mum ask you everyday: "What did you do at school?"
- *Marc: Si. *She does.*
- *Interviewer: Tu dis quoi? *What do you say?*
- *Marc: J'lui réponds pas. *I don't answer her.*

The case studies demonstrated how some children's lack of freedom of language choice at home led to reducing communication with the minority-language parent. Children do not always possess the HL skills necessary to express nuanced ideas, particularly with regard to events that normally occur in an English-speaking environment. When parents refuse to allow these ideas to be conveyed in the majority language, children may decide not to share them at all. Interestingly, the three French parents with more flexible language management (Vanessa, Mathilde and Chloé) all described their approaches as a way to encourage their children to communicate. When asked whether one should ideally separate languages at home, Vanessa declared:

- BRAD.5 Je préfère qu'ils parlent, même si parfois y a des mots anglais, que pas du tout en fait.
I'd rather they talk, even if there are some English words at times, rather than not at all.

Chloé expressed a similar idea in these two interview samples:

- HALL.17 Si je leur imposais le français, qu'elles étaient obligées d'exprimer tous leurs sentiments en français, peut-être que ça les bloquerait plus. Parce que mine de rien, c'est quand même normal que l'anglais soit leur langue principale. Donc là c'est, elles seraient frustrées.
If I imposed French on them, if they were obliged to express all their feelings in French, perhaps that would hold them back. Because, after all, it is normal that English should be their first language. So, then, they would feel frustrated.
- HALL.18 Donc si elles ont un problème, elles peuvent me dire en anglais, et je vais répondre en français, avec mes mots pour l'encourager en français, et ça passe comme ça. Si je leur imposais de le dire en français, peut-être qu'elles pourraient pas l'exprimer aussi bien, euh, et pourraient peut-être pas, si elles veulent me raconter par exemple, ce qu'il s'est passé à l'école, un tel a dit ci, un tel a dit ça, euh, tout à coup ça devient plus compliqué. Donc là, elles peuvent dire ce qu'elles ont envie de sortir.
So, if they have a problem, they can tell me in English, and I'll respond in French, with my words of encouragement in French, and that works well. If I demanded that they told me in French, perhaps that they wouldn't be able to express themselves as well, euh, and perhaps they wouldn't be able, if, for example, they want to tell me what has happened at school, such and such said this or that, suddenly it gets more complicated. So, as things are, they can say whatever needs to come out.

As for Mathilde, she explained that her gentle error correction method was driven by her decision to prioritise communication over linguistic accuracy.

- WHEEL.6 S'il fait des fautes je le corrige pas, ou je le corrige mais gentiment. Moi j'en fais donc...Le but c'est d'établir la communication.
If he makes mistakes, I don't correct him, or I correct him but very nicely. I make mistakes myself, so...The goal is to establish communication.

As mentioned in the case study reports, children did not often voice their disapprobation with their parents' language management or with the fact that they were not able to communicate comfortably in the HL. This would explain why parents with low tolerance to translanguaging did not seem to realise the silent effects of their approaches on their offspring's well-being and on the parent-child communication. Rachel, Patrick and Valérie reported that their language management decisions had no negative impact on their children. These findings highlight the issue of children's well-being in language contact situations. As De Houwer (2013) points out, while many studies have focused on early dual language acquisition, the emotional well-being of bilingual children has been overlooked. Instead, many scholars have been concerned with parents' well-being, desires and concerns in relation to their bilingual childrearing experiences (Parkes and Tenley,

2011). De Houwer (2013), through her concept of Harmonious Bilingual Development (HBD), proposes to pay more attention to the emotional impact of language contacts within multilingual and transnational families. While De Houwer's focus has been on bilingual children's early years (birth to five years old), this research shows that the emotional effects of FLP continue to be important once a child has started school and becomes more independent from, and critical of her parents' language management choices. According to De Houwer (2009), negative attitudes towards bilingualism or towards any of the languages in question lead to conflictual bilingual development. The present study indicates that this proposition may be incomplete. All participating children and parents in this research displayed positive attitudes towards both bilingualism and the minority language. However, not all families experienced bilingualism in a harmonious way. If Alain (6) and H  l  ne (9) showed positive attitudes towards the HL, they also reported feeling 'angry' and 'frustrated' about their parents' language management styles. Their negative emotions were directed at the minority-language parents' strategies and their effects on communication with their offspring. Besides, Patrick and Val  rie both reported experiencing periods of depression due to the pressure of achieving their goals of balanced bilingualism. De Houwer (2013) also proposes that dilingual conversations, in which parents and children interact using different languages in the same conversation, may contribute to conflictive bilingual development. This idea concurs with Tseng and Fuligni's (2000:473) earlier findings according to which dilingual interactions lead to children feeling 'more emotionally distant from [their parents] and (...) less likely to engage in discussions with them.' The current research results contrast with Tseng and Fuligni's conclusion by showing that parents' and children's language choices themselves do not hinder harmonious bilingual development. Instead, it is the parents' conversational reactions to children's language choices and possible subsequent sanctions that generate conflictive situations. Moreover, the six case studies also demonstrated that, unlike children whose communication was restricted to monolingual interactions in French, the young heritage speakers who were allowed to express themselves in their chosen language felt more comfortable sharing their experiences with the minority-language parents. Overall, the French participants who had adopted a more child-centred language management and allowed their young ones freedom of language choice seemed closer to achieving Kopeliovich's (2013: 250) concept of a *happylingual* approach to bilingual childrearing, that is-the 'positive emotional coloring of the complex processes related to the heritage language transmission, a special emphasis on the linguistic aspects of

childrearing, unbiased attitudes to diverse languages that enter the household, and respect to the language preferences of the children’.

Conclusion

This final chapter outlines key findings and limitations of this study, as well as its theoretical, methodological and practical contributions. Finally, possible considerations for future research are discussed.

Key Findings and Limitations of the Study

This research project was designed to move away from the traditional focus in studies of Family Language Policy on possible ways to maximise children's HL development through parental planning. Instead, it set out to highlight the variety and singularity of bilingual experiences among parents and children within a single household. In order to understand the lived experiences of transnational families, this study proposed 4 research questions:

- 1) What are parents' reported beliefs about bilingualism and dual language acquisition?**
- 2) What is the relationship between parents' language beliefs, language management and language practices?**
- 3) The link between FLP and parents' experiences of transnationalism and bilingual childrearing.**
- 4) The impact of FLP on children's bilingual experiences.**

The mixed method approach selected for this study was paramount in obtaining both an etic and emic perspective on FLP and led to 4 key findings:

1. The anonymous online survey revealed clear differences of attitude to bilingualism among the participants. Whilst the long tradition of monolingual language ideologies still appeared to be well ingrained in the minds of some parents, the results also showed the strong presence of heteroglossic ideas among many participants. These findings contradict earlier literature describing the apparent preponderance of monoglossic language ideologies among middle-class parents (King and Fogle, 2006; Okita, 2002; Piller, 2001) and suggests that parents' beliefs

about bilingualism may be changing. This result is significant in the sense that it indicates an evolution in language beliefs echoing the call for a more flexible approach to bilingualism among academics.

2. Both the quantitative and qualitative data revealed that beliefs about bilingualism did not always inform the FLP since parents often felt pressured to make language decisions according to the sociolinguistic environment in which they were raising their children. Whilst some parents may view bilingualism as a fluid and ever-changing phenomenon, many do not feel free to embrace such heteroglossic ideas for fear of losing the minority language to the overwhelming predominance of English. Therefore, heteroglossic beliefs do not necessarily translate into flexible language management. Many parental language decisions are a practical response to the challenges of bilingual childrearing rather than the direct results of particular beliefs, even if they are often justified through popular ideas about multilingualism.

3. This study highlighted a significant covert motivation influencing parental language management choices, that is the minority-language parent's sense of cultural identity and degree of attachment to his or her homeland. In turn, parents' language strategies at home shape how they experience transnationalism and bilingual childrearing.

4. The case studies revealed that parental language management may have profound consequences for all family members. The insight into participants' personal language and family experiences was achieved through in-depth case studies, including observations of these families' interactions within the privacy of their home. The observations were an essential tool in understanding the complex dynamics of FLP including the role of the majority-language parent in influencing both family language practices and the bilingual childrearing experience of the minority-language parent. The data obtained from the young participants in this study strongly suggests that children experience bilingualism as a holistic and fluid phenomenon which is incompatible with a language policy that imposes the separation of languages on children. For this reason, parents' language management may have a considerable impact on their children's bilingual experiences. Whilst it is clear that most parents in this research intended to do what was best for their offspring, participants with a stringent language management style seemed to negatively affect their children's experiences of growing up in a harmoniously

bilingual and multicultural environment. Instead, parents who tolerated bilingual interactions fostered positive bilingual experiences among their young ones by encouraging children to embrace their multilingualism while leaving them the space to form their own cultural identity, which often differed from their parents' cultural identity.

As regards the limitations of this research, the participants were part of a well-off minority in the UK and benefited from fairly positive societal attitudes towards their cultural and linguistic background. They were all proficient in English and were ready to reflect about their decision to actively pursue bilingual childrearing. It is important to recognise that families from other socioeconomic, ethnic and linguistic communities may perceive and experience transnationalism and minority language transmission differently. Besides, the case studies presented in this research were based on a limited sample and do not claim to be representative of all intermarried families. Details about the families' backgrounds and language policies have been provided for readers to make a judgement on the transferability of the findings.

Contribution and Implications

As discussed in the previous section, one of the key findings of this study is the apparent evolution of parental language beliefs towards a heteroglossic understanding of bilingualism. Scholars in the field of Applied Linguistics have endeavoured to advocate a heteroglossic approach to bilingualism among researchers and education practitioners (García, Zakharia and Otcu, 2013; Heller, 2009; Li, 2011, 2017). Even if such flexible conceptualisation of language has reached the general public, many parents are still hesitant to espouse it, owing to a lack of support in developing their children's heritage language. In order for parents to embrace translanguaging as a legitimate aspect of their FLP, they must be released from some of the pressure of being the sole providers of HL input for their children. Therefore, practical support through mainstream education must be made available in order to diversify bilingual children's sources of input in the HL. One step in this direction could consist of making a much-needed distinction between second language learners and heritage speakers (Montrul, 2012), as is currently the case in some US schools and universities (Leeman, 2015).

This study contributes to moving the focus in FLP research away from developing children's HL proficiency towards understanding the lived experiences

of multilingual families. By doing so, this thesis supports a recent call among some researchers (Schwartz and Verschik, 2013) to question the notion of success in FLP and argues that parents and children's FLP experiences are a better measure of success than the children's level of bilingual development.

Another original contribution made through this research was to give voice to the children themselves. The use of creative research tools as the visual prompts used during the interviews and the language portraits were key in encouraging the children to share their thoughts and feelings. These young participants' views are a testament to school-age heritage speakers' ability to reflect on their personal experiences of FLP, as unique and separate from their parents', and for some of them, to express their ideas of what growing up bilingually should be like. Examining the perspectives of these 8 young bilinguals clearly highlighted the unique character of every child's transnational experience, as well as the gap between parents' perception of their child's linguistic and cultural identity and how children actually identify. This is why this study also calls for authors of parental guides on bilingual childrearing to exercise caution and to remind parents that every child is unique, and so is every family.

Finally, findings in this study have important implications for parents raising a multilingual family and facing the complex task of finding a balance between nurturing a precious linguistic and cultural heritage while giving their offspring the space and freedom to construct their own identity. As demonstrated through the case studies, young bilinguals in multilingual and multicultural homes experience their hybrid identities as a unique and holistic phenomenon. This study recommends that parents embrace the particular sociolinguistic environment and the transnational nature of their families by accepting their children's language choices and translanguaging practices. A gentle and tolerant approach to family language policy through which parents provide input in the minority language, while valuing the children's relationship with the majority language, may be more likely to encourage children's affiliation to the heritage language and culture in the long term. Additionally, accepting flexible language practices, as opposed to viewing the minority and majority languages as competing varieties, may also be the key for minority parents to experience bilingual childrearing as a positive and enjoyable experience. As discussed in the first part of the conclusion, this study concerns middle-class families whose minority language is positively perceived within society. Parents from underprivileged linguistic communities are more likely to face negative societal attitudes towards the minority language as part of their multilingual

childrearing experience. It is therefore important for these families to instil positive attitudes towards the heritage language into children by accepting, rather than fighting, children's hybrid cultural identities, including their affiliation with the majority culture. This study proposes that children respond more favourably to flexible language management at home, which, in turn, nurtures their desire to maintain and use the heritage language.

Disseminating FLP research findings to parents, through supplementary schools, would be a meaningful step towards supporting multilingual families across various linguistic communities. That being said, circulating the results of the present study also raises some ethical questions. While the qualitative portion of this research has highlighted the negative effect of rigorous language management on the bilingual family, it is important to recognise that all participating parents had their children's best interests at heart. It is essential, when sharing the results of this study, to show sensitivity and avoid causing participants any feelings of guilt or embarrassment. To this end, a brief research report containing the key findings, will be provided to the families who took part in the case studies, and to the supplementary schools which distributed the online survey, along with a thank you message to participants. In addition, the researcher will propose to all 6 participating families a face-to-face meeting in which parents could further share their experiences and discuss the findings in a constructive and friendly manner.

Recommendations for Further Research

Given the increasing number of transnational families, it is clear that more research is needed in the field of FLP. Based on the findings of the present study, three main suggestions can be made for future research. First, and as suggested by Zhu and Li (2016: 665), if bilingualism has become a desired lifestyle in many Western societies, 'we should avoid romanticising [it], or seeing [it] as [a] universally positive experience'. Whilst we must continue to celebrate multilingualism as a positive phenomenon, it is important to also recognise and understand the challenges of transnational families. In order to do so, it is essential to contextualise FLP within the lived experiences (Busch, 2017) of individuals and families. Only then can we understand how FLP is linked to much more than language development since it is intertwined with family and personal well-being, parent-child relationships and cultural identity. This implies that the notion of success in FLP research must not be based solely on children's level of proficiency in the minority language and must be redefined as a result. FLP can no longer be approached as a phenomenon in which

children are the mere recipients of a policy designed and implemented by the parents. Instead, and as some researchers recently pointed out (Fogle and King, 2013; Kopeliovich, 2013; Palviainen and Boyd, 2013), FLP must be investigated as a multi-actor and dynamic experience.

Finally, a growing interest in childhood bilingualism among the public and academics has been conducive to further research in dual language acquisition and FLP with a view to nurturing the benefits that bilingualism may confer to children. This positive attention, however, seems to have rapidly turned into a quest for optimal bilingual development. It is now essential to refocus the discussion on FLP around the original motivation for preserving heritage languages, that is, the well-being of the transnational child. In order to do so, researchers must give voice to young heritage speakers and help them express their perspectives on their bilingual experiences through creative research methods.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Online Survey



Dear Parent,

Thank you for spending the time to help me with my research. This questionnaire will help me gather background information about language use in your family, and your approach to bilingualism. It should be completed by a French-speaking parent living in the UK, and whose child is between 5 and 18 years old.

Your participation is optional. The survey is completely anonymous and all personal information will remain strictly confidential. The results of this study will be made available to you after completion of the research project.

Merci pour votre aide!

Sonia Wilson
Doctoral Research Student
The Open University | Milton Keynes MK7 6AA sonia.wilson@open.ac.uk

- 1. What year were you born?**
- 2. What is(are) your first language(s)?**
- 3. What other language(s) do you speak?**
- 4. How many years have you been living in the UK?**
- 5. What is your highest level of education?** Brevet des Collèges/GCSE
Baccalauréat/A-Level Licence/Bachelor's Degree Master/Master's Degree
Doctorat/PhD/ Other
- 6. What is your occupation?**
- 7. What is(are) the other parent's first language(s)?**
- 8. What other language(s) does he/she speak?**
- 9. How old is/are you child/children?**

10. What other language(s) than French & English does/do your child/children speak or understand?

11. How long has/have your child/children been attending French School?

12. How often do you use English when speaking to your child? Never/Rarely-Occasionally- Frequently/Very Frequently

13. How often do your children speak French to you? Never/Rarely-Occasionally-Frequently/Very frequently

Please give details of situations in which your child(ren) speak(s) French.

14. When your child/children speak(s) English to you, in what language do you respond? Always in French- Mostly in French- Sometimes in French/sometimes in English- Mostly in English-Always in English

15. Please describe which language each family member tends to speak when you are all together (for example, at the dinner table).

16. Do you sometimes mix French & English when speaking to your child(ren)? (ex. "Prends ta lunch box")?

Never/Rarely- Sometimes – Frequently/Very frequently

17. Do you sometimes mix French & English when speaking to bilingual friends or colleagues?

Never/Rarely- Sometimes – Frequently/Very frequently

If you gave different answers to questions 16 & 17, please explain why.

18. What language(s) do you and your child(ren) use while doing homework? Please explain why.

19. What languages do you speak to your child(ren) in presence of English speakers? Please explain why.

20. Did you and the other parent discuss and agree on which language(s) each of you should speak to your child(ren)? If so, please describe and justify your decision.

21. Has the arrangement described above changed over time? If so, please describe how.

22. Why do you want your child to develop or maintain his/her French?

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

23. It is natural for bilinguals to mix languages in a conversation.

strongly disagree - somewhat disagree - neither agree nor disagree - somewhat agree - strongly agree

Please explain your answer.

24. Speaking only French to my child will help him/her maintain his/her French.

strongly disagree - somewhat disagree - neither agree nor disagree - somewhat agree - strongly agree

Please explain your answer.

25. I expect my child's French to be as good as his/her English.

strongly disagree - somewhat disagree - neither agree nor disagree - somewhat agree - strongly agree

Please give more details about the French language skills you expect your child(ren) to achieve (comprehension, speaking, writing, reading).

26. Real bilinguals speak both languages at the same level.

strongly disagree - somewhat disagree - neither agree nor disagree - somewhat agree - strongly agree

27. My child(ren)'s level of French has met my expectations so far. strongly disagree - somewhat disagree - neither agree nor disagree - somewhat agree - strongly agree

Please explain your answer.

28. My child(ren) enjoy(s) speaking French.

strongly disagree - somewhat disagree - neither agree nor disagree - somewhat agree - strongly agree

Would you and your child/children agree to be interviewed for this research study? Interviews will be anonymised and all personal information will remain confidential. Your participation is optional. If you would like to help me with this research, kindly provide me with the following information:

Yes - No

Email address:

Name of your Saturday French school:

Merci pour votre participation!

Previous

Submit

This survey is anonymous. The issuer of the survey will not be able to link your answers to your identity. Powered by EasyQuest (<https://www.easyquest.com/en/>)

APPENDIX B: Email Interview Questions to Non-French Parent

Research study: Bilingual Practices of French-English Families in the UK.

Thank you for accepting to help me with this research study.
Your answers to the following questions will remain strictly confidential. Please develop your answers as much as possible. Thank you!

1. Please describe your competence in French: understanding, speaking, reading, writing.
2. To what extent do you use the French language? For example, with your children, with your spouse/partner, with his/her family, etc....
3. What input did you have into the family's plan to raise your child(ren) bilingually?
4. How important is it to you that your child is able to use French? Why?
5. To what extent do you and your spouse/partner agree on the family's approach to raising a bilingual child?
6. If you and your spouse/partner have disagreements about the family's approach, please describe how these are resolved.
7. In your opinion, how do(es) your child(ren) feel about the parental approach to bilingualism?
8. How does the parental approach to bilingualism impact your child(ren)'s relationship with you as parents?

APPENDIX C: Face-to-Face Semi-Structured Interview with Parents

En quelle langue souhaiteriez-vous que je vous parle ? *In which language would like me to speak to you?*

Préférez-vous que l'on se tutoie ? – (Participant is asked whether the researcher should use the formal pronoun 'vous' or the informal 'tu' when addressing the participant).

Language Practice (refer to online survey questions 13 to 16)

1. Pouvez-vous/Peux-tu me dire quelles langues chaque membre de la famille parle, avec qui, à la maison ?
Can you tell me which languages every family member speaks to whom at home ?
2. Et en dehors de la maison ? Par exemple, au supermarché, dans la rue, etc. Pourquoi?
And outside the house? For example, at the supermarket, on the street, etc. Why?
3. Dans quelles situations utilisez-vous/utilises-tu l'anglais avec vos/tes enfants ? Pourquoi ?
In which situations do you use English with your children ? Why ?
4. Dans quelles situations vos/tes enfant parlent-ils français avec vous/toi ? (online survey question 13).
In which situations do your children speak French to you ?
5. Quand vos/tes enfants vous/te parlent anglais, en langue répondez-vous/réponds-tu ? Pourquoi ? (online survey question 15)
When your children speak English to you, in which language or languages to you respond? Why?

Code-mixing (refer to online survey questions 17, 18 & 24)

6. Mélangez-vous/mélanges-tu parfois le français et l'anglais quand vous parlez à votre enfant ? Pourquoi ?
Do you sometimes mix French and English when speaking to your child? Why?
7. Mélangez-vous/ mélange-tu quand vous parlez/tu parles avec des amis et collègues bilingues?
Do you mix when speaking with bilingual friends or colleagues?
8. If different answers provided to questions 6 and 7, why?
9. Pensez-vous qu'il est naturel, pour les gens bilingues, d'utiliser 2 langues dans la même phrase ou dans la même conversation ?
Do you think that it is natural for bilinguals to use 2 languages in the same sentence or in the same conversation ?

10. Percevez-vous le mélange du français et de l'anglais comme une pratique positive ou négative ?
According to you, is mixing French and English a positive or a negative practice ?
11. Pensez-vous que, dans l'idéal, vous devriez parler exclusivement français à votre enfant ? Pourquoi ?
Do you think that in an ideal situation you should speak French exclusively to your child? Why?
12. Est-ce qu'il mieux de garder les 2 langues strictement séparées ? Pourquoi ?
Is it better to keep both language strictly separated? Why?

Language Management & Ideologies

13. Encouragez-vous/Encourages-tu votre/ton enfant à développer son français ? Comment ?
Do you encourage your child to develop his/her French? How?
14. Lisez-vous/Lis-tu des livres en français à votre/ton enfant ? A quelle fréquence ?
Do you read French books to you child? How often?
15. Demandez-vous/Demandes-tu expressément à votre/ton enfant de vous/te parler français ?
Do you ask your child expressly to speak French to you?
16. Si oui, comment réagit-il/elle ?
If so, how does he/she react?
17. Si votre/ton enfant refuse de parler français, comment réagissez-vous/réagis-tu ?
If your child refuses to speak French to you, how do you react?
18. Jusqu'à présent, est-ce que tout s'est passé comme vous l'aviez prévu/tu l'avais prévu ? Pourquoi ?
So far, has everything gone according to plan? why?
19. D'après vous/toi, qu'est-ce qui pose obstacle à la transmission du français à votre/ton enfant ?
According to you, what the obstacles to the transmission of French to your children?
20. Pourquoi avez-vous/as-tu inscrit votre/ton enfant à l'école française du samedi ?
Why did you register your child at the Saturday French school?

Non-French parent's approach (refer to online survey question 21)

21. Votre/ton partenaire ou époux as-t-il/elle la même approche que vous/toi ?
Quelle est son approche ?
Does your partner or spouse has the same approach as yours ?
What is his/her approach ?
22. Comment les différences d'opinion sont-elles résolues ?
How do you settle your disagreements on the matter ?

Expectations (refer to online survey questions 26 and 28).

23. Êtes -vous /Es-tu satisfait(e) du niveau Français de votre/ton à l'heure qu'il est ?
Are you satisfied with your child's level of French so far?
24. D'après vous, quel niveau de français votre/ton enfant aura-t'il atteint dans quelques années?
According to you, what level of French will your child have reached in a few years?
25. Vos/tes attentes ont-elles changé au fil du temps? Pourquoi ?
Have your expectations changed over the years? Why?
26. Quel impact pensez-vous avoir sur le niveau de français de votre/ton enfant?
What impact do you think you have on your child's level of French?

Motivations (refer to online survey question 23)

27. Quelle importance a pour vous/toi la transmission du français à votre/ton enfant ? Pourquoi ?
How important is it to you to transmit French to your child? Why?

Children's attitudes to the minority language and the FLP

28. Selon-vous/toi, quels sont les sentiments de votre/ton enfant envers la langue et la culture françaises ?
According to you, how does your child feel about the French language and culture?
29. Comment réagit-il/elle aux efforts que vous/tu faites/fais pour promouvoir la langue française dans la famille ?
How does he/she react to your effort to promote the french language within the family?
30. D'après toi, quel effet votre/ta gestion des langues à la maison a-t-elle sur votre/ta relation avec votre/ton enfant ?
According to you, what effect does your language management at home have on your relationship with your child?

31. Votre/ton approche initiale a-t-elle changé en fonction des préférences de votre/ton enfant ?

Has your original approach changed based on your child's preferences?

Personal experience learning languages

32. Comment avez-vous/as-tu appris l'anglais ? Pouvez-vous/peux-tu décrire votre/ton expérience?

How did you learn English? Can you describe your experience?

Conclusion

33. Comment compléteriez-vous/complèterais-tu cette phrase: "Élever un enfant bilingue est....." ?

Expliquez/Explique votre/ta réponse.

How would you complete this sentence: "Raising a bilingual child is...."?

Explain your response.

APPENDIX D: Semi-Structured Interview with Children

Warm-up questions

In what school year are you?

Do you have any brothers and sisters?

Would you like us to have this conversation in English or in French?

We are going to look at some pictures together. Imagine this little boy/girl is you.

On va regarder quelques images ensemble. Imagine que tu es ce petit garçon/cette petite fille.

Language practice

Picture 1: You are in the sitting-room with mum/dad.

Tu es dans le salon avec maman/papa.

What languages are you speaking to her/him?

Tu lui parles en quelles langues ?

And What languages is mum/dad speaking?

Et Maman/papa te parle en quelles langues?

Picture 2: You are in the sitting-room with your sister/brother.

Tu es dans le salon avec ta soeur/ton frère.

What languages do you speak to each other?

Why?

En quelles langues vous parlez-vous ?

Pourquoi ?

Picture 3: On this picture, you are doing homework with mum/dad.

Sur cette image, tu fais tes devoirs avec maman/papa.

What languages are you speaking?

Tu parles en quelles langues ?

What languages is mum/dad speaking to you?

Maman/papa te parle en quelles langues ?

Can you give me examples of a situations in which your mum/dad speaks French to you?

Tu peux me donner des exemples de situations où maman/papa te parle en français ?

Can you give me examples of a situations when your mum/dad speaks English to you?

Tu peux me donner des exemples de situations où maman/papa te parle anglais?

Picture 4: Here, you are at the supermarket with mum/dad.
Ici, tu es au supermarché avec maman/papa.

What languages does mum/dad speak to you?
En quelles langues te parle maman/papa?

Parental language management & child's response to management

1. Are there any language rules at home?
Est-ce qu'à la maison il y a des règles sur quelles langues il faut parler avec papa et maman ?
2. What do you think about these rules?
Que penses-tu de ces règles?
3. Does mum/dad ask you to speak French at home?
Est-ce que maman/papa te demande de parler français à la maison ?
4. How do you feel about that?
Tu en penses quoi?
5. If you speak English to mum/dad, how does she/he react?
Si tu parles anglais à maman/papa, comment réagit-elle/il ?
6. What do you think about her/his reaction?
Que penses-tu de sa réaction ?

How does it make you feel?
Ça te fait sentir comment ?

7. When friends who do not speak French come to your home, in what languages does mum/dad speak to you?
And in what languages do you answer?
Why?
Quand tes amis viennent jouer à la maison, en quelles langues te parle maman/papa ?
Et en quelles langues reponds-tu ?
Pourquoi ?

Code mixing/Translanguaging: Practices & Attitudes

8. My children sometimes do a mix of French and English. For example:
"J'aime les sweeties" or "I don't want to do my devoirs".
Do you do that too?
Why?
Parfois mes enfants mélangent le français et l'anglais. Par exemple, "J'aime les sweeties" or "I don't want to do my devoirs".
Tu fais aussi ça parfois ?
Pourquoi ?

9. Do you mix French and English when speaking to mum/dad?
Who else?
*Tu mélanges le français et l'anglais quand tu parles à maman/papa ?
Et avec qui d'autre ?*
10. And what does she/he think about that?
Et qu'est-ce qu'elle/il en pense ?
11. Do you enjoy mixing French and English?
Tu aimes mélanger le français et l'anglais ?
12. Do you think it is OK to mix French and English?
What do you think other people think when they hear you mix French and English?
*Tu penses que c'est normal de mélanger le français et l'anglais ?
A ton avis, que pensent les autres quand ils t'entendent mélanger le français et l'anglais ?*
13. Do you think that there are times when it is wrong to use French or it is wrong to use English?
Why?
*Tu penses qu'il y a des situations où il ne faut pas utiliser le français et des situations où il ne faut pas utiliser l'anglais ?
Pourquoi ?*

Language Attitude

(Baker's 3-component model of language attitudes, 1992: cognitive, affective, readiness for action)

Cognitive element

1. Do you think that speaking French is important?
Why?
*Tu penses que c'est important de parler français ?
Pourquoi ?*
2. Do you think that speaking different languages at home and at school is a good thing?
Why?
Tu penses que parler des langues différentes à la maison et à l'école est une bonne chose ? Pourquoi ?
3. What are the good things about speaking two languages?
Qu'est-ce qui est bien dans le fait de parler plusieurs langues ?
4. What are the bad things about speaking two languages?
Qu'est-ce qui est mauvais dans le fait de parler plusieurs langues ?
5. Why does mum/dad want you to learn French?
Pourquoi maman/papa veut-elle/il que tu apprennes le français ?
6. Why do you come to French school?
Pourquoi viens-tu à l'école française ?

7. Do you like coming to French school?
Why?
Tu aimes venir à l'école française ?
Pourquoi ?
8. Are you allowed to speak English at French school?
How do you feel about that?
Tu as le droit de parler anglaise a l'école française ?
Qu'est-ce que tu en penses ?

Affective elements

9. Do you enjoy speaking French with your mum/dad?
Why?
Tu aimes parler français avec maman/papa ?
Pourquoi ?
10. According to you, how important is it to mum/dad that you know French?
Why?
Tu penses que c'est important pour maman/papa que tu saches parler le français?
Pourquoi ?
11. What does mum/dad say when you speak English to her/him?
How do you feel about that?
Que dis maman/papa quand tu lui parles en anglais ?
Tu en penses quoi ?
12. What language(s) do you speak when you are in France? (with grandparents, cousins, etc...)
Quelles langues parles-tu quand tu es en France?

How do you feel about speaking French to them/in France?
Comment tu te sens quand tu leur parles en français/en France ?

Do you understand everything they say in French?
Tu comprends tout ce qu'ils te disent en français ?

Can you say everything you want to say to them in French?
Tu peux dire tout ce que tu as envie de leur dire en français ?
13. Is there a language you like best?
Why?
Est-ce qu'il y a une langue que tu préfères ?
Pourquoi ?

Readiness for action

14. What do you do/what do you respond when mum/dad ask you to speak French?

Why?

Tu dis quoi/tu fais quoi quand maman/papa te demande de parler en français ?

Pourquoi ?

15. Do you sometimes refuse to speak French when mum/dad asks you?

Why?

Est-ce que tu parfois tu refuses de parler français avec maman/papa ?

Pourquoi ?

16. When you are a mum/dad, will you want your children to speak French?

Quand tu seras maman/papa, tu voudras que tes enfants parlent le français ?

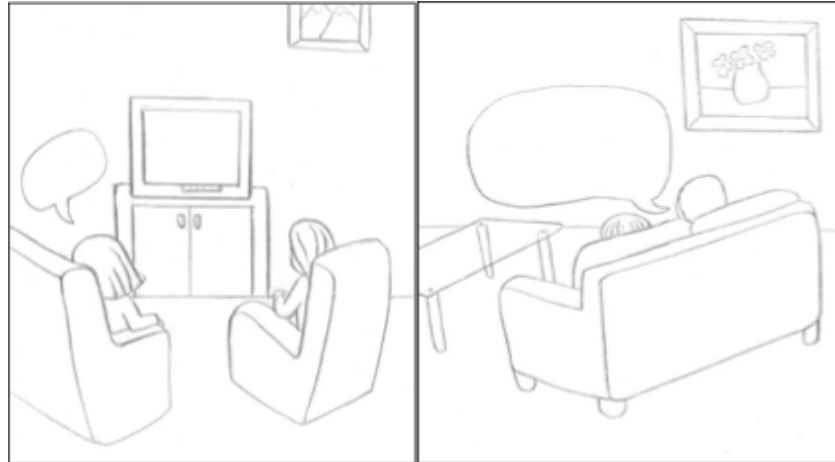
17. Is there anything else you would like to tell me?

Y-a-t'il autre chose que tu voudrais me dire ?

Participant is given information on how to get in touch if he/she has any questions or concerns.

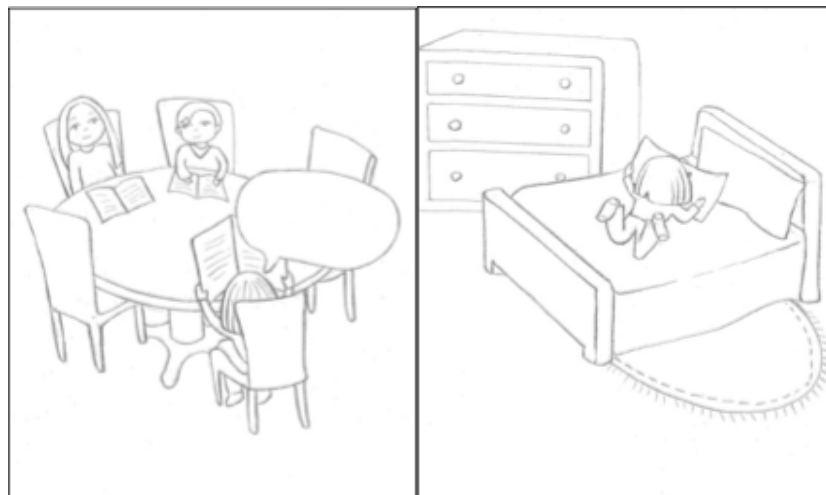
APPENDIX E: Interview with Children: Examples of Picture Items for Language Scenarios & Facial Expression Visual Stimuli

Appendix E.1: Examples of Picture Items for Language Scenarios.



Speaking with mum/dad for female participant

Speaking with sibling for female participant



Doing homework for female participant

Reading for female participant

Appendix E.2: Facial Expression Visual Stimuli



APPENDIX F: Examples of Thematic Analysis

Appendix F.1 Example of Theoretical Thematic Analysis

@Languages: French
@Participants: PK1INT Interviewer, PK2PATRICK Target_Adult
@ID: French|parents' interviews|PK1INT||female|||Interviewer||
@ID: French|parents' interviews |PK2PATRICK|47;|male|||Target_Adult||
@Begin

Coding system:

Language practices

Language management

Language ideologies

*pk1: can you tell me what languages you speak to Alain in general?
*pk1: Please give me some examples of situations in which you use such or such language.
*pk2: always in French.
*pk2: it is only French.
*pk2: when I speak to Alain, at home, it's French, on the street, it's French.
*pk2: French. homework is in French.
*pk2: piano is in French.
*pk2: when he watches TV, it's in French.
*pk2: the home is French.
*pk2: I speak French, and Laura (spouse) speaks French too.
*pk2: she's English but she's a French teacher.
*pk2: in every situation where I am present, it's in French.
*pk1: and alone with mum?
*pk2: and with mum it's in French.
*pk2: when we are at home, it's French.
*pk2: when we're in the car, it's French.
*pk2: sometimes we might start using English, but we'll quickly switch back because there may be a subconscious reason why we speak English, because some words are perhaps easier in English.
*pk2: but we make the effort to switch back to French immediately. (...)
(...)
*pk2: and when they speak English, they get punished.
*pk2: that's it.
*pk2: they get punished.
*pk2: I make a comment once, twice, three times.
*pk2: then I take a marble away or I raise my voice, or I let them know that I don't understand.
*pk2: if they speak in English, I tell them that I do not understand what they are saying (...)
*pk1: and on the street or at the supermarket for example?
*pk2: French.
*pk2: everything is in French.
*pk1: and what language will he speak?
*pk2: and he will respond in French.
*pk2: if he responds in English, I tell him I haven't understood [= laughter]
(...)

- *pk1: why?
- *pk2: why?
because Laura and I consider that it is crucial for our children.
- *pk2: they have relatives in France who do not speak English, so we want them to be able to express themselves perfectly in that language.
- *pk2: and not only speak it but write and read it too.
- *pk2: because it's part of/ It's my culture.
- *pk2: they are half-French.

Appendix F.2. Example of Inductive Thematic Analysis

Appendix F.2.1 Example of Phase One Inductive Thematic Analysis: Familiarisation with the Data: All Parents.

Data Analysis by Parent	Points of Interest	Research Question(s)
Vanessa	Non-French parent is an obstacle to HL transmission	1 & 3
Vanessa	Strict language rules alienate children	1 & 2
Rachel	Promote superiority of the home culture within the family (food, school, weather, family)	2 & 3
Rachel	Children do not realise the benefits of bilingualism	1
Mathilde	Communication is more important than bilingual development	1, 2 & 3
Valérie	Bilinguals have two separate languages and cultures	1
Valérie	Bilingual childrearing is a personal investment	2
Patrick	Minority language loss is a source of anxiety	3

Appendix F.2.2 Example of Phase Two Inductive Thematic Analysis: Generating Initial Codes using Nvivo 11, All Parents.

Data Analysis by Parent	Points of Interest	Code
Rachel	Ask children to repeat their sentences in French.	Error Management
Rachel	Perception & promotion of the home culture as superior (food, school, weather, family).	French parent's attitude towards British Culture
Valérie	Expression of Nostalgia for life in the home country.	French parent's attachment to country of origin
Valérie	Majority language parent's lack of support in transmitting the minority language	Majority language parent's level of

Themes	Example of Codes	Participants	Research Questions
Minority-language parent's cultural identity and language management choices.	Ex.1 French parent's attitude towards British Culture Ex. 2 French parent's attachment to country of origin	Rachel, Patrick, Valérie, Vanessa, Chloé, Mathilde Rachel, Patrick, Valérie.	3) How does FLP shape parents' experiences of transnationalism and bilingual childrearing?
The shaping of FLP by majority-language parents.	Ex. 1 Majority language parent's input in bilingual childrearing Ex. 2 Majority-language parent's influence on family language practices	All majority- and minority-language parents.	3) How does FLP shape parents' experiences of transnationalism and bilingual childrearing?
			input in bilingual childrearing
Allan (Rachel's husband)	The lack of French skills prevents the majority-language parent from participating into children's bilingual development		Majority language parent's level of input in bilingual childrearing
Vanessa	Majority language parent's lack of French skills decreases the use of the minority language at home		Majority language parent's influence on family language practices

**Appendix F.2.3 Example of Phase Three Inductive Thematic Analysis:
Generating Themes Using Nvivo 11, All Parents.**

APPENDIX G: Sample French Parent Interview

@Languages: French

@Participants: INTERVIEWER Interviewer, VANESSA Mother

@ID: pk1 french|Interviews with parents|INTERVIEWER||female||Interviewer||

@ID: pk2 french|Interviews with parents|VANESSA||female||Mother||

@Begin

*Interviewer: nn se vouvoie ou se tutoie ?

shall we say 'vous' (formal pronoun) or 'tu' (informal pronoun)?

*Vanessa : oh on se tutoie s'il te plaît ! [laughter]

oh please let's use 'tu'! [laughter]

*Interviewer: [laughter] peux-tu me dire, s'il te plaît, quelles langues chaque membre de la famille parle à qui, à la maison?

can you please tell me which languages each member of the family speaks to whom at home?

*Vanessa: à la maison euh c'est anglais, non parce-que ben mon mari comprend très peu le français en fait.

at home it's in English, well because my husband understands very little French actually.

*Vanessa: donc euh ben disons que, il a une conversation très simple [laughter] donc ça devient très compliqué à suivre

so, let's just say that he can have very simple conversations [laughter] so, it becomes very complicated for him to follow,

*Vanessa: il faut répéter après donc, du coup c'est généralement en anglaise *then one needs to repeat, that's why it's normally in English.*

*Vanessa: et puis en fait quand c'est vraiment dirigé aux enfants et, pour eux, pour faire quelque chose, je parle en français.

and then when I am addressing the children, when it's to them, so that they do something, I speak French.

*Interviewer: et les enfants, ils parlent quelles langues?

and what about the children, in which languages do they speak?

*Vanessa: eux ils répondent en anglais.

they respond in English.

*Interviewer: toujours?

always ?

*Vanessa: 90% des cas, oui [laughter].

90% of the time, yes [laughter].

*Vanessa: le français vient quand vraiment je leur demande de faire un effort.

French comes when I really ask them to make an effort.

*Vanessa: ou s'ils veulent quelque chose de moi.

or if they want something from me.

*Vanessa: c'est vraiment inhabituel quoi.

it's really unusual.

*Interviewer: d'accord.

ok.

*Interviewer: et en dehors de la maison ?

and outside the house?

*Interviewer: tu leur parles en quelle langues ?

in which languages do you speak to them?

*Interviewer: par exemple, au supermarché, dans la rue.

for example, at the supermarket, on the street.

- *Vanessa: un peu des deux.
a bit of both
- *Vanessa: ça dépend vraiment des circonstances, de ce qu'on est en train de faire.
it really depends on the circumstances, on what we're doing
- *Vanessa: c'est un peu un mélange en fait.
it's bit of a mix actually
- *Vanessa: je réfléchis pas trop [laughter].
I don't really think about it [laughter]
- *Vanessa: c'est ce qui vient en premier.
it's whatever comes to me first.
- *Vanessa: y a pas vraiment de structure [laughter].
there isn't really a structure [laughter].
- *Interviewer: [laughter] Ok.
[laughter]***Ok.***
- *Interviewer: et l'anglais, tu l'utilises dans des situations particulières ?
[laughter]
and do you use English in any particular situation?
- *Vanessa: ben l'anglais en fait vient assez facilement quand euh, parce qu'en fait ils me répondent en anglais donc au bout d'un moment c'est : 'bon ben en va continuer en anglais', c'est fatigant quoi.
well, English comes quite easily when euh, because, actually, when they respond to me in English, at some point it goes: 'Ok then we'll continue in English', it's just tiring.
- *Vanessa: c'est souvent.
it happens often
- *Vanessa: et après ils me répondent en anglaise, donc c'est vraiment un mélange quoi.
and then they respond to me in English, so, it's really a mix yeah.
- *Vanessa: je commence en français généralement et ça finit en anglais quoi [laughter].
I generally start off in French and it ends up being in English [laughter].
- *Interviewer: je vois [laughter]. ***I see [laughter].***
- *Interviewer: et donc tu disais qu'ils te parlaient en français très rarement, et que s'ils te parlaient en anglais, tu leur réponds en anglais ?
so, you were saying that they very rarely spoke French to you, and that if they speak English to, you'll respond in English ?
- *Vanessa: ouais ouais .
yeah yeah.
- *Interviewer: tu mélanges parfois?
do you sometimes mix ?
- *Vanessa: un peu ouais.
Yeah a little.
- *Vanessa: ben en fait on se rend compte que le premier mot qui des fois...
actually, I realise that sometimes the first word that...
- *Vanessa: en fait c'est dans la conversation française que j'utilise des mots euh anglais que [hesitation] que vice versa.
it's actually in a conversation in French that I will use euh English rather than [hesitation] the other way around.
- *Vanessa: parce qu'en fait, comme je parle plus anglais que français, en fait, maintenant, c'est des mots anglais qui viennent en premier donc dans la conversation.

- because since I speak English more often than French, well, now, English words come to me first in a conversation.*
- *Vanessa: parfois j'me dis : "c'est quoi ce mot en français ?" [laughter].
sometimes I think to myself: 'what's that word in French?' [laughter].
- *Interviewer: donc tu pars sur du français et tu intègres des mots...
so you start with French and you include words...
- *Vanessa: anglais, voilà.
in English, that's it.
- *Interviewer: et c'est pareil avec des amis ou des collègues?
and do you do the same with friends or colleagues?
- *Vanessa: euh ben, j'ai ma sœur qui habite en Angleterre, et qui est donc dans la même situation que moi, ça fait plus de 20 ans qu'elle est en Angleterre.
eh well, my sister lives in England and she is in the same situation as me, she's been in England for over 20 years.
- *Vanessa: et donc quand on parle ensemble c'est vrai que, des fois, c'est un vrai mélange de français/anglais.
so, when we speak to each other, it's true that it's sometimes a real French/English mix.
- *Vanessa: enfin c'est encore généralement en français, on se parle français, et puis bon y a des mots anglais qui viennent parce qu'on est là.
des mots français.
well, it still is mainly in French, we speak French to each other, and then some English words get in because we live here.
- *Vanessa: c'est quoi le premier mot qui vient en tête ?
what is the first word that comes to mind?
- *Vanessa: c'est le mot anglais parce qu'on arrive pas à trouver le mot français.
- *Vanessa: mais sinon bon avec les collègues, quand c'est des collègues français, bien-sûr je leur parle en français, bon parfois y a quelques mots anglais aussi parce que, bon, on utilise des systèmes communs qui ont du vocabulaire anglais de toutes façons, euh [hesitation] donc, bon, de temps en temps y a quelques mots anglais qui viennent dans la conversation.
it's the English word because we can't find the French word. But otherwise, with colleagues, if they are French colleagues, then of course I will speak French, but sometimes there are also English words because we use common systems including English vocabulary anyway, euh [hesitation], so once in a while a few English words will get in the conversation.
- *Vanessa: euh, mais sinon avec des collègues anglais, c'est très rare que j'utilise
eh but otherwise, with English colleagues, I very rarely use French words.
- *Interviewer: tu penses que c'est naturel pour les gens bilingues de mélanger les langues?
do you think that it's natural for bilinguals to mix languages?
- *Vanessa: Je pense.
I think so.
- *Vanessa: Je sais pas si c'est le genre de réponse que les personnes utilisent.
I don't know whether this is the kind of response people give.
- *Vanessa: Mon niveau de français a diminué je pense, comparé à mon niveau d'anglais. *I think that my level of French has decreased compared to my English.*

- *Vanessa: donc, c'est [hesitation] quand je vois ce que je peux écrire en anglais c'est beaucoup plus fluide que d'écrire en français par exemple.
so, it's [hesitation] when I think of what I am able to write in English, it's much more fluent than in French, for example.
- *Vanessa: Et même au niveau conversationnel, en français j'ai parfois du mal.
and even when it comes to conversation, it's sometimes more difficult in French.
- *Vanessa: Mais c'est c'est qui est bien avec mon nouveau boulot, j'ai la chance de pouvoir être plus en contact avec nos bureaux français, en fait ça me pousse un peu plus d'utiliser le français dans différentes circonstances.
but the good thing is, at work, I was lucky to get more contact with our offices in France, so it actually pushes me to use French a little more in different contexts.
- *Vanessa: En fait je me rends compte que mon français c'est vraiment conversation avec les enfants.
actually, I realise that my French is only for speaking to the children.
- *Vanessa: C'est rare que j'aie des conversations d'adulte en fait, avec ma sœur, mais ça s'arrête là en fait, c'est vraiment avec la famille proche.
I actually rarely have adult conversations, with my sister, but that's pretty much it, it's really only with close family.
- *Interviewer: donc tu penses que quand tu mélanges, c'est une question de niveau de langue?
so, you think that you mixing languages has to do with your level of proficiency?
- *Vanessa: je sais pas si c'est le niveau, c'est euh peut-être la gymnastique de l'esprit. *I don't know it's about my level of proficiency, it's euh, it's perhaps mental exercise.*
- *Vanessa: c'est là justement où on peut se dire, 'est-ce que je suis vraiment bilingue ou pas?' en fait, ou c'est que j'utilise la facilité ?
c'est à dire, prendre le mot qui arrive le plus vite.
That's precisely when one can wonder: 'Am I really bilingual?' Or am I using the easy way? That is to say, use the word that comes first.
- *Vanessa: je sais pas ce qui fait qu'une personne est vraiment bilingue en fait. moi j'ai, j'ai toujours eu l'impression que, bon, la façon dont les enfants ont appris le français, est vraiment différente de ma façon d'avoir appris le français et l'anglais.
- *Vanessa: donc en fait moi quand j'ai appris l'anglais, c'est à l'école, c'est apprendre la grammaire, c'est apprendre une certaine façon de parler l'anglais.
I actually don't know what makes a person a proper bilingual. I, I was always under the impression that, well, the way the children have been learning French is really different from how I learned French and English.
- *Vanessa: bon ben après évidemment, je suis venue ici, donc là ça change un peu la perspective mais eux ils sont nés avec en fait et je me dis que leur [hesitation] façon, c'est un peu plus naturel en fait.
so actually, the way I learned English, at school, it was learning the grammar, learning a certain way of speaking English. But then of course, I came here, and that somewhat changes one's perspective. But they, they were born with it And I think that their [hesitation] way, it's actually a bit more natural.

- *Vanessa: c'est plus intuitif, j'espère, leur façon de parler français, que moi, quand j'ai appris à parler anglais en fait.
it's more intuitive, I hope so, the way they speak French compared to how I learned how to speak English.
- *Interviewer: justement, quelle a été ton expérience de l'apprentissage de l'anglais?
talking of which, what was your experience of learning English?
- *Vanessa: euh ben en fait, c'était avec l'université.
J'ai fait un cursus universitaire jusqu'à un IUT en France, donc même en IUT, on continuait à faire de l'anglais, à faire de l'anglais technique on va dire, vu ma qualification.
Euh well, it was at university, I did a IUT (Instiut Universitaire de Technologie) degree in France, so, even at IUT we had to carry on studying English, technical English, given the nature of my degree.
- *Vanessa: donc c'est une fois venue en Angleterre, je me suis dit : 'Mais en fait je connais pas grand-chose' [laughter].
So, after arriving in England I thought to myself: 'I actually don't know much' [laughter].
- *Interviewer: [laughter] j'ai eu la même expérience.
[laughter] I had the same experience.
- *Vanessa: je comprenais personne [laughter]
I couldn't understand anyone [laughter]
- *Interviewer: tu étais où ?
where were you?
- *Vanessa: A (location), donc dans le Surrey. *In (location), in Surrey.*
- *Vanessa: Et encore ils ont un bon accent, mais après j'suis partie, une fois que j'ai fini l'université, c'est après 3 ans, j'suis partie à Liverpool, et c'était comme entendre une nouvelle langue encore, à Liverpool. C'était : 'Oh je comprends pas un mot de ce vous me dites' [laughter]. *And their accent is still not too bad. But then I left, once I had finished university, after 3 years, I left for Liverpool, and it was just like hearing another new language in Liverpool. It was like: 'Oh I don't understand a word you are saying' [laughter].*
- *Vanessa: surtout quand j'allais au marché. *Especially when I would go to the market.*
- *Vanessa: au boulot c'était assez internationale, donc y avait des gens de partout, d'Europe, d'Angleterre, d'un peu partout. *At work it was quite international with people from all over, from Europe, from England, from everywhere.*
- *Vanessa: alors quand j'allais à Liverpool, au marché, j'étais : "je comprends rien", c'était à nouveau apprendre la langue en fait.
but when I would go to Liverpool, to the market, it was like: 'I don't understand anything', it was like learning the language all over again.
- *Interviewer: ma première fois c'était par le biais d'Erasmus, à Birmingham.
my first time was through the Erasmus programme, in Birmingham.
- *Interviewer: je croyais que je parlais anglais, mais je comprenais rien.
I thought that I spoke English, but I couldn't understand anything.
- *Interviewer: je comprenais pas à l'époque que c'était surtout à cause de l'accent.
I didn't realise at the time that it was mainly because of the accent.
- *Interviewer: et eux me comprenaient pas non plus [laughter].
and they didn't understand me either [laughter].

- *Interviewer: donc tu disais que c'était une expérience différente de celle de tes enfants avec le français ?
so, you were saying that your experience was different from your children's experience with French?
- *Vanessa: ils ont une approche plus naturelle peut-être de l'approche de la langue. *their approach to the language is perhaps more natural.*
- *Vanessa: euh [pause] peut-être un peu moins construite que la façon dont on a peut-être pu apprendre toutes les deux en fait.
euh [pause] perhaps a little less structured than how you and I learned [English].
- *Vanessa: nous on a appris une certaine grammaire derrière alors que la façon dont nos enfants ont appris le français, c'est de l'entendre parler en fait. Donc...
we learned the grammar. But the way our children have been learning French, the language was spoken to them, so...
- *Interviewer: tu penses que pour eux c'est naturel de mélanger les 2 langues?
do you think that mixing the two languages is natural to them?
- *Vanessa: un p'tit peu plus ouais, pque pour nous peut-être.
yes, a little more, perhaps more than for us.
- *Interviewer: penses-tu que dans l'idéal tu devrais parler exclusivement français avec tes enfants?
do you think that, ideally, you should speak French exclusively to your children?
- *Vanessa: euh [pause] je pense. *Euh [hesitation] I think so.*
- *Vanessa: mais c'est beaucoup d'efforts je trouve. *But it takes a lot of effort.*
- *Vanessa: c'est [hesitation] les premières difficultés sont venues en fait au moment où ils ont commencé à faire [hesitation] au début [hesitation] avant que Eric, par exemple, aille à l'école, naturellement il avait plus de mots français, dans ce qu'il me disait en fait. *It's [hesitation] it first got difficult when they started to [hesitation] at the beginning [hesitation] before Eric went to school, for example, he naturally had more French words when he was speaking to me.*
- *Vanessa: et une fois qu'ils sont allés à l'école, c'était fini quoi, y avait plus de français en réponse. *And once they started going to school, it was over, they no longer responded in French*
- *Vanessa: c'était très limité. *It was very limited.*
- *Vanessa: et en fait une fois qu'ils ont commencé à faire les devoirs donc c'était encore pire parce que du coup à essayer de leur expliquer les devoirs en français, et les mots déjà tout nouveaux pour eux, qu'ils ne comprenaient pas spécialement.
and actually, once they started having homework, it was even worse because explaining the homework in French when the words were already new to them, and they didn't necessarily understand them.
- *Vanessa: et après leur expliquer en français, ils disaient : 'Maman, je comprends pas' [laughter]. *They would say » 'Mum, I don't understand' [laughter].*
- *Vanessa: puis bon, on va expliquer en anglais alors [laughter]. *Well, I'll explain in English then [laughter].*
- *Vanessa: et c'est là que c'est devenu un peu plus, euh, ouais, c'est venu p'tit à p'tit en fait, euh ben parce qu'il y avait un peu une nécessité au départ
et then it got a little more, euh, yeah, it came little by little because it was necessary.

- *Vanessa: peut-être que j'aurais dû persister, je sais pas. *Perhaps I should have persisted, I don't know*
- *Vanessa: mais bon, c'est, j'me dis derrière [hesitation] quand on [pause] ils se débrouillent en français mine de rien. *But then, it's, I think [hesitation] when we [pause] they're still get by in French. It's not an excellent level, but still, they get by.*
- *Vanessa: c'est pas un niveau qui est peut-être excellent, mais bon, ils se débrouillent, ils sont déjà plus avancés que n'importe quel enfant qui est [hesitation] qui apprend cette langue à l'école. *they are ahead of any other child who (...) learns that language in school.*
- *Vanessa: c'est pas non plus la peine de se martyriser avec ça quoi [laughter]. *it's not worth torturing oneself about this either [laughter].*
- *Interviewer: comment décrirais-tu leurs niveaux de français?
how would you describe their levels of proficiency in French?
- *Vanessa: je sais pas. *I don't know.*
- *Vanessa: c'est un peu difficile parce que en fait ils l'utilisent [hesitation], ils l'utilisent plutôt bien. *it's a little difficult because they actually use it [hesitation], they use it rather well.*
- *Vanessa: y a quelques fautes de grammaire mais c'est des phrases encore relativement simples, les conversations sont pas très fluides encore. *there are a few grammatical errors, but they remain relatively simple sentences, conversations are still not very fluent.*
- *Vanessa: mais euh bon, mon père trouve que bon, mine de rien, ils arrivent à dire ce qu'ils veulent. *but euh, you wouldn't think so, but my father thinks they are able to say whatever they want to say.*
- *Vanessa: c'est un peu difficile parfois mais bon, quand ils doivent vraiment ils font l'effort, ils trouvent la façon de le dire même si c'est des mots très simples. *it's sometimes a little difficult, but then, when they really have to make an effort, they find a way to say it even if it is with very simple words.*
- *Vanessa: c'est vrai que derrière, c'est la vie de tous les jours aussi la façon dont ils parlent, c'est pas non plus, ils ont pas à décrire des situations, à penser en français en fait. *It's true that what they say, it's about their everyday life. It's not, they don't have to describe situations, to think in French.*
- *Vanessa: le vocabulaire reste toujours restreint. *the vocabulary remains restricted.*
- *Interviewer: tu m'as dit que dans l'idéal il faut leur parler plus en français.
you told me that ideally you should speak more French to them.
- *Interviewer: penses-tu que dans l'idéal il faudrait séparer les 2 langues ?
do you think that, ideally, the two languages should be separated?
- *Vanessa: hmm Je préfère qu'ils parlent, même si parfois y a des mots anglais, que pas du tout en fait. *hmm I'd rather they talk, even if there are some English words, at times, rather than not at all.*
Je pense que, des fois je me tais quand je les entends et ils font une erreur. Je me dis bon, on laisse parler, et puis peut-être qu'après je dis 'tiens peut-être que ça tu aurais pu le dire comme ça', mais je me dis bon, tant qu'ils parlent, et qu'ils font l'effort. Pour de pas couper l'effort.
I think that, sometimes, I stay quiet when I hear them make mistakes. I think to myself: OK, we'll let it go, and then maybe later, I'll say: 'Hey perhaps that you could have said it this way'.

but I'm thinking, OK, as long as they speak and make the effort. Not to undermine the effort.

*Interviewer: tu dirais que tu encourages tes enfants à développer leur français ou pas?

would you say that you encourage your children to develop their French?

*Vanessa: oui, parce que je pense que c'est important. *yes, because I think that it is important.*

*Vanessa: déjà pour pouvoir être euh pour pouvoir s'intégrer avec la famille française. *first of all, to euh to be able to be part of the French family.*

*Vanessa: parfois on y va, donc pour avoir plus de contact, qu'ils soient pas trop à l'écart non plus. *we sometimes go there, so they have more contact, so that they're not too isolated from them.*

*Vanessa: donc je le pousse, et c'est pour ça qu'on vient ici aussi (école française) parce que je trouve que c'est un peu trop difficile pour moi. *so, I encourage it, and that's also why we come here (French school), because I personally find it a little too difficult.*

*Vanessa: au départ je me suis dit : 'Bon on va lire des livres ensemble' et tout, et quand il a fallu voir la grammaire, ça devenait un peu plus compliqué. *at the beginning I thought, 'ok, we are going to read books together and all that', and when it came to learning the grammar, it was becoming too complicated.*

*Vanessa: ça me prenait la tête franchement [laughter]. *I was fed up with it to be honest [laughter].*

*Vanessa: donc, j'ai même, à un moment on avait arrêté le club français parce que, le problème c'est que on part à 9h30 et rentre à 1h de l'après-midi, donc c'est la matinée de perdu.

so, I even, at some point, we stopped going to French club (French school) because, the problem is we leave at 9:30 and come home at 1 in the afternoon, so, it's the whole morning gone.

*Vanessa: je me suis dit 'bon, on va prendre un tuteur et voir comment ça se passe. *I thought: OK, let's take a tutor and see how it goes. But it was a mess with those two.*

*Vanessa: mais c'était le bazar avec eux deux, ils étaient toujours en train de se chamailler, donc en fait, il fallait faire une demi-heure avec l'un, une demi-heure avec l'autre, donc c'était un peu lourd quoi.

they were always bickering, that's why we had to do half an hour with one, and half an hour with the other, so it was a bit difficult.

*Interviewer: pendant combien de temps?
for how long?

*Vanessa: J'ai fait ça 6 mois et j'ai abandonné [laughter] et à la fin du coup, c'était le tuteur pour Carl (Vanessa's husband).

Alors du coup il a fait quelques cours de français juste pour parler, il a jamais voulu apprendre la grammaire, donc au bout d'un moment ça limite la conversation si on arrive pas à l'intégrer dans une phrase mais bon, ça l'a poussé à parler un peu plus et il a plus confiance en lui pour parler.

I did that for 6 months and I gave up [laughter] and in the end, the tutor was for Carl (Vanessa's husband), so, he did a few French lessons just to learn how to speak, he's never wanted to learn the grammar, so, at some point the conversation becomes limited if one cannot integrate it into a sentence but well, it pushed him to speak a little more and he's more confident to speak.

- *Interviewer: donc l'école française c'est l'une de tes méthodes pour les encourager à apprendre le français?
so French school is one of your methods to encourage them to learn French?
- *Vanessa: voilà, pour les encourager, pour que ben, quand ils auront 18 ans, 20 ans, ils puissent se débrouiller en français en fait.
That's it, to encourage them, so that when they are 18, 20 years old they can actually get by in French.
- *Vanessa: Ça donne quelque chose de plus derrière parce que si maintenant ils voient pas le bénéfice euh, c'est sur quand ils auront 18/20 ans ils seront très contents de pouvoir parler une autre langue. ***It gives them a little something more because if they can't see the benefit now euh they will surely be very happy to speak another language when they are 18 or 20.***
- *Vanessa: Et si ça se trouve, plusieurs autres, parce que moi je trouve, que quand on parle une autre langue, apprendre d'autres langues devient plus facile aussi. ***and perhaps many more because I think that when one speaks another language, learning more languages becomes easier.***
- *Vanessa: J'ai fait de l'espagnol à l'école, et avec le boulot je devais aller très souvent en Colombie, et en fait ça m'est revenu assez facilement.
- *Vanessa: J'ai aussi appris l'italien ici en Angleterre, et avec l'espagnol et le français, j'ai trouvé que c'était relativement simple, et j'avais bien aimé quoi. ***I learned Spanish at school, and I had to go to Colombia very often for work, and it actually came back to me pretty easily. I also studied Italian here in England and having French and Spanish, I found it relatively simple and I quite enjoyed it.***
- *Vanessa: J'avais une amie, à cette époque-là, qui était en Italie, et j'ai voyagé un p'tit peu en Italie et j'étais très contente de pouvoir y aller et de comprendre un peu.
I had a friend at the time, who was in Italy and I travelled to Italy a little and I was very happy to be able to go there and to somewhat understand.
- *Interviewer: donc tu peux te débrouiller en italien?
so you get by in Italian ?
- *Vanessa: pas maintenant, j'en ai pas fait depuis au moins 10 ans donc [laughter], c'est dommage.
Not anymore, I haven't used it for at least 10 years so [laughter], t's a shame.
- *Interviewer: ça reviendrait si tu allais en Italie.
it would come back if you went to Italy.
- *Vanessa: oui ça reviendrait je pense.
yes I believe it would come back.
- *Interviewer: et en dehors de l'école française, tu emploies d'autres méthodes pour encourager tes enfants à apprendre le français ?
and besides French school, do you use other methods to encourage them to learn French?
- *Vanessa: hmm bon ben maintenant bien sûr ils sont en école secondaire donc ils ont pris le français à l'école, donc en fait c'est un peu une perte de temps pour eux.
hmm well now they're obviously in secondary school so they've been learning French at school, so it's a bit of waste of time for them.
- *Interviewer: ça se passe comment les cours de français à l'école?

- how are French lessons at school going?*
- *Vanessa: en fait avec mon fils on s'est un peu moqué de lui parce qu'il avait eu 97% à son premier test, on lui a dit: 'pourquoi t'as pas réussi à avoir 100% ? [laughter], comparé à tous les autres enfants, je comprends pas'. *well, we made fun of my son because he got 97% in his first assignment and we told him: 'why didn't you manage to get 100%? [laughter] compared to the other children, I don't get it'.*
- *Vanessa: Il a dit : 'J'ai fait une erreur d'orthographe' [laughter]. *He said: 'I made a spelling mistake' [laughter].*
- *Vanessa: Donc au dernier examen qu'il a eu il a dit "j'ai pas fait une faute" [laughter]. *So on his last assessment he said, 'I have made a single mistake [laughter]*
- *Vanessa: Il faut les pousser un p'tit peu pour leur faire voir qu'ils ont un avantage, il faut qu'ils l'utilisent. *I need to push them a little so they understand than they have an advantage, they need to use it.*
- *Vanessa: il y a au moins une matière ils peuvent avoir 100%, autant en profiter [laughter]. *There is at least one subject in which they can have 100%, they might as well make the most of it [laughter].*
- *Vanessa: et ma fille fait espagnol, ils ont tous les deux décidé de faire de l'espagnol, en Year 7 et Year 8, et euh, en fait, l'espagnol elle adore. *and my daughter studies Spanish, they both decided to do Spanish in Year 7 and Year 8, and euh, she loves Spanish*
- *Vanessa: elle trouve ça très facile et je lui ai dit: 'c'est parce que tu fais du français', sinon elle aurait jamais trouvé aussi facile. *she finds it very easy and I told her: 'that's because you know French' otherwise she would have never found it so easy.*
- *Vanessa: et puis elle admet un p'tit peu mais elle veut pas [laughter]. *and she's somewhat admitted it although she didn't want to [laughter].*
- *Interviewer: tu leur lis des livres en français?
do you read books in French with them?
- *Vanessa: plus maintenant, je le faisais quand ils étaient plus petits. *not anymore, I use to when they were younger.*
- *Interviewer: ils lisent tous seuls en français?
do they read in French on their own?
- *Vanessa: rarement. *rarely.*
- *Vanessa: ça les intéresse pas. *they aren't interested.*
- donc bon, ils ont des livres ici (French School) avec la bibliothèque, et ils les lisent jamais et je veux pas que ce soit une corvée non plus quoi. *well, they get books here (French school), from the library, and they never read them and I don't want it to become a chore either.*
- *Vanessa: déjà on vient ici, ils font l'effort, c'est, bon, ça râle un p'tit peu mais ça va. Ils arrivent encore à venir.
we already come here, they make the effort, ok, they whine a little but it's not too bad, they still manage to make it here.
- *Interviewer: tu les forces un p'tit peu le samedi?
do you push them a little on Saturdays?
- *Vanessa: oui. *yes*
- *Vanessa: ah oui oui.
definitely, yes.
- *Interviewer: ma fille ne veut pas venir non plus, et elle a seulement 5 ans donc je me demande comment je vais faire les 10 prochaines années.

my daughter doesn't want to go either, and she's only 5 so I wonder how I am going to do this for the next 10 years.

*Vanessa:

Aah oui c'est galère, oui. *yes, it's a pain.*

*Vanessa:

Surtout, pendant un an et demi, mon fils est venu tout seul, sans ma fille, parce qu'elle avait des cours de gymnastique pendant, elle partait la journée et euh, il râlait quoi, il disait: 'pourquoi je le fais et pas Ella ?!' *especially since my son had to come here without my daughter for a year and half because she had gymnastics during that time, she was gone for the day and euh, he would complain, he would say : 'why do I have to do it and Ella doesn't ?!'*

*Vanessa:

c'était tous les samedis matin, donc là ça râle mais bon. *that was every Saturday morning. so now he complains but it's alright.*

*Interviewer:

penses-tu que cette école a un effet sur le niveau de français? *do you think that this school has an impact on their French proficiency?*

*Vanessa:

je pense oui, parce que ça les pousse à faire un peu plus que, juste faire de la lecture en fait, à comprendre la grammaire, à l'utiliser. *I think so because it pushes them to do a little bit more, to do some reading, to understand the grammar, to use it.*

*Vanessa:

et puis voir qu'ils sont pas les seuls quoi, en fait, à être dans cette situation. *and for them to see that they are not the only ones in this situation actually.*

*Vanessa:

et en fait, pour ta fille j'espère qu'elle va se faire des amies parce que mon fils il a pas eu beaucoup d'amis, y avait que des filles dans sa classe chaque année, a avait très peu de garçons, donc en fait, il a pas vraiment eu de copains. *and by the way, I hope that your daughter will make friends because my son hasn't made many friends, every year there were only girls in his class, there were very few boys, so he's never really had any friends.*

*Vanessa:

tandis qu' Ella, a 2 ou 3 qu'elle a garde et à chaque fois qu'elle revient c'est 'ah salut !', elle est contente de les voir en fait et ça aide un p'tit peu. *whereas Ella has had 2 or 3 friends and every time she came back, it was like: 'Hey, hi!', she is happy to see them and that helps a little.*

*Vanessa:

et pourtant ils sont venus depuis qu'ils sont bébés. Ma fille avait 3 ans, donc Eric avait 2 ans. *and yet they've been coming here since they were babies. My daughter was 3 and Eric was 2.*

*Interviewer:

oui et ils sont avec les mêmes enfants chaque année. *yes and they are with the same children every year.*

*Vanessa:

oui en plus. Je sais pas. *yes that's right. I don't know*

*Interviewer:

tu leur demandes parfois expressément de parler français? *do you sometimes expressly ask them to speak French?*

*Vanessa:

quand on revient du club français, dans la voiture, c'est: 'Si vous voulez parler, vous parlez français', c'est là où je dis : 'non, qu'est-ce que t'as dit?' [laughter], et ils font l'effort. *when we come back from French club, in the car, I say: 'if you want to speak, speak French', that's when I would say: 'no, what did you say?' [laughter], and then they make the effort.*

*Interviewer:

c'est le seul moment? *is that the only time?*

- *Vanessa: c'est le seul moment. *it's the only time.*
- *Vanessa: dans la semaine, si je leur dis: 'allez on fait l'effort de parler français pendant 10 minutes', ils font l'effort de ne pas parler en fait [laughter].
during the week, if I tell them: 'come on, let's make the effort to speak French for 10 minutes', they make the effort not to talk actually [laughter].
- *Interviewer: donc c'est le silence?
so they go silent?
- *Vanessa: oui voilà [laughter], quand on est chez mon père, ou en France, je les pousse un peu à parler français.
yes, that's right [laughter], when we're at my father's, or in France, I ask them to speak a little French.
- *Interviewer: est-ce qu'ils refusent parfois?
do they sometimes refuse?
- *Vanessa: Euh pas spécialement.
Euh not really.
- *Vanessa: c'est juste que des fois ils vont dire: 'oh j'connais pas le mot en français', donc je dis: 'Ben tu construis ta phrase en français et le mot que tu comprends pas ou tu ne sais pas comment dire, tu me le dis et puis j'te le dis'. *it's just that sometimes they will say: 'oh but I don't know that word in French'. so, I say: 'well, construct your sentence in French and if there's a word you don't know or don't know how to say, you tell me, and I'll tell you.'*
Euh not really.
- *Vanessa: et puis quand ils sont tous les deux ensemble ils se débrouillent plutôt bien parce qu'il y en a toujours un qui sait le mot quand l'autre ne le sait pas en fait, donc ils se débrouillent pas trop mal quand ils sont ensemble. *and when it's just the two of them, they are do quite well because there's always one of them who knows the word when the other doesn't, so, they do rather well when they're together.*
Euh not really.
- *Vanessa: mais, en fait, Eric lui ça le gêne pas de faire des erreurs, lui il essaiera et il fera l'effort tandis qu' Ella elle, elle préfère être correcte donc parlera peut-être pas autant parce qu'elle veut pas faire d'erreurs en fait.
but in fact, Eric doesn't mind making mistakes, he will try and make the effort whereas Ella, she would rather be correct and therefore she might not speak as much as she would like to because she doesn't want to make any errors.
- *Interviewer: et c'est comme ça que tu l'avais imaginé quand ils étaient tout petits? tu pensais que ça se passerait comment ?
and is this how you imagine it when they were still little ? how did you think it would go?
- *Vanessa: Je pensais que ça serait plus facile, en fait. *In fact, I thought it would be easier.*
- *Vanessa: Et c'est un peu une bataille en fait, il y a rien de français autour, j'ai pas forcément d'amis française donc, bon y a X qui habite pas loin de chez nous mais bon, c'est pareil, on a une vie assez, en semaine on est très occupé, les weekends, ben c'est pareil c'est un peu...rapidos, donc en fait nos amis sont anglais généralement donc, euh y a pas trop d'opportunités de parler français.
It's actually a bit of a struggle, there's nothing French around and I don't really have any French friends, OK there's X who doesn't

- live very far from us but ok, it's the same for them, our lives are quite... we're very busy during the week, and at the weekend, well, same thing, it's all a bit rush rush so, most of our friends are English so, euh, there isn't really any opportunity to speak French.*
- *Vanessa: j'ai ma sœur qui habite en Angleterre je la vois 3 fois dans l'année. donc [laughter].
I have my sister here in England and I see her 3 times a year. So [laughter].
- *Interviewer: Elle habite où?
where does she live?
- *Vanessa: dans North East London, c'est pas très loin, c'est une heure et demie de route mais, c'est pareil, elle a 2 filles, elles ont 15 ans et 17 ans donc, elles aussi, elles ont leur vie, elles ont des trucs à faire les weekends.
In North East London, it's not very far, it's a one and a half-hour journey but it's the same issue, she has 2 daughters, they're 15 and 17 so, they also, they have their lives, they have stuff to do at the weekend.
- *Interviewer: oui, on est tous trop occupés.
we're all too busy.
- *Interviewer: qu'est-ce qui pose obstacle, selon toi, à la transmission du français à tes enfants?
according to you, what are the obstacles to the transmission of French to your children?
- *Vanessa: je pense que c'est surtout que, à la maison, on parle anglais en fait. parce que sinon, euh, mon mari ne serait pas dans les conversations. *I think that it's essentially the fact that we speak English at home because otherwise, euh, my husband couldn't take part in the conversation.*
- *Vanessa: quand on parle à table le soir, ben on est obligé de parler anglais parce que sinon euh on a [hesitation] il y a une personne qui comprend pas quoi, donc ça c'est un peu dommage. *when we're talking at the dinner table, well, we have to speak English, because, otherwise, we have euh [hesitation] there is someone who doesn't understand, so that's a bit of a shame.*
- *Vanessa: c'est ça aussi qui fait la différence j'imagine.
that's also what makes the difference I guess.
- *Interviewer: et lui, ton époux, il en pense quoi?
and your husband, what does he think about it?
- *Vanessa: ben mon mari, c'est sur ma tête quoi, c'est pas son problème en fait [laughter].
well, my husband, it's all on me, it's not his problem [laughter].
- *Interviewer: tu penses qu'il n'a aucun impact sur le fait que les enfants soient bilingues ou pas?
Do you think that he has no impact on whether your children become bilingual or not?
- *Vanessa: bon il pousse quand même, il [pause], au départ il était pas très chaud, vu que les enfants se plaignaient chaque semaine. *well he still presses them, he [pause], at the beginning, he wasn't really for it given that the children were complaining very week.*
- *Vanessa: Il disait: 'bon ben écoute, ils veulent pas y aller, ils veulent pas y aller'. *he would say: 'ok, listen, if they don't to go, so be it'.*
- *Vanessa: J'ai dit: 'non, Je veux qu'ils aient une autre expérience du français que juste moi leur parler, on y va et je veux ton support derrière.' *I*

- said: 'no, I want them to have an experience of French other than me speaking it, we're going and I want you to support me.'*
- *Vanessa: Et du coup, bon ben, Il pousse les enfants à faire un effort. Il leur dit: 'Vous pourriez parler français à votre mère de temps en temps quand même' [laughter]. *and so, he pushes them to make an effort and he tells them: 'you could at last speak French to your mum once in a while' [laughter].*
- *Vanessa: mais ça s'arrête là comme lui il parle très peu français de toutes façons.
but nothing more than that since he speaks very little French anyway.
- *Interviewer: quel est son niveau de français?
what is his French like?
- *Vanessa: niveau touriste, savoir commander et puis euh, c'est vraiment dire: 'bonjour, comment ça va ?' Voilà quoi.
tourist like, he can order and euh, say things like: 'hello, how are you?' that's it.
- *Interviewer: dirais-tu que tu es satisfaite de leur français aujourd'hui?
and would you say that you are satisfied with their French today?
- *Vanessa: Oui [hesitation] *yes [hesitation]*
- *Vanessa: J'adore les entendre parler français en fait, quand ils parlent français je dis: 'Ah ben c'est sympa de t'entendre'. S
I love to hear them speak French, when they speak French, I say: 'oh it's nice to hear you speak'.
- *Vanessa: Je leur dis quand même que j'aime bien les entendre parler français quoi pour renforcer un p'tit peu le, l'aspect positif de la chose [laughter]. *I do tell them that I like it when they speak French. Just to highlight the positive aspect of it [laughter].*
- *Vanessa: Euh leur niveau, bon ben, c'est c'que c'est, c'est pas euh, comme y a pas mal de restrictions derrière, bon je me dis bon ben, tant que, quand ils seront plus grands ils arrivent à parler, à avoir une conversation avec un adulte sans avoir trop de problèmes, bon je serai contente quoi. *and as for their proficiency, well, it is what it is, as long as they are able to speak once they're older, and have a conversation without too much difficulty, then I'll be happy.*
- *Vanessa: Quand ils sont en France et qu'ils sont en contact avec d'autres enfants français, ils se débrouillent, ils y arrivent. *when they're in France and get in contact with other French children, they do just fine, they manage.*
- *Vanessa: C'est [hesitation] après tout ils font l'effort de s'intégrer s'ils le veulent quoi. *it's [hesitation] they make the effort to become integrated if they want to.*
- *Vanessa: Si on devait aller vivre en France maintenant, ben, voilà, ils seraient bien obligés de le faire, je pense que derrière il y aurait peut-être une petite remise à niveau quoi c'est sûr, mais bon, rien qui soit...je pense qu'à la fin, ils feront leur GCSE et A-Level en français, et j'espère que ce sera avec [hesitation] sans trop de problèmes.
if we had to go live in France today, well then, they would have to do it. I think that they would perhaps need some refresher training, that's for sure, but then, nothing too...I think that in the end they will do their French GCSE and A-Level, and I hope that it will happen without too much difficulty.
- *Interviewer: oui, y a pas de raison. *yes, I am sure it will be fine.*

- *Interviewer: est-ce que tu décrirais ton approche assez relaxe, par rapport à d'autres?
would you describe your approach as relaxed, compared to others ?
- *Vanessa: oui. Plutôt.
yes, rather relaxed.
- *Interviewer: Ça a toujours été le cas?
has it always been the case?
- *Vanessa: ben disons que comme je voyais que de les forcer à parler, ben du coup ils parlaient pas, ben c'était un peu difficile de forcer la chose si derrière il y avait trop de réticence. *well let's just say that since forcing then led them to remain silent, it was a bit difficult to keep forcing if they were too reluctant.*
- *Vanessa: je voulais pas non plus avoir trop de, ouais, d'aspects négatifs avec le français, donc pour garder un peu quelque chose de fun.
donc c'est pour ça qu'on est venu au club de français, et aussi de faire des chansons et tout ça, c'était l'aspect plus sympa aussi du français.
I didn't want to have too much, yeah, negativity around the French language, so, to keep it fun, so that's why we came to French club, for the songs and all that, it was a nicer experience of French.
- *Vanessa: Bon ben c'est vrai que quand ils grandissent du coup ils commencent à faire un peu plus de grammaire, donc c'est un peu moins fun mais bon [laughter], ça n'empêche qu'on essaie de grader un aspect positif. même là, par exemple, ils font une erreur toute bête : 'je suis faim', je dis : 'À ben non, t'es pas très fin' [laughter]. Donc on se moque aussi de ça, donc pour garder l'esprit un peu léger.
But ok, it's true that as they grow older, they start doing a bit more grammar, so that's a bit less fun. But ok [laughter]. I doesn't stop us from keeping a positive outlook even when, for example, they make a silly error, like: 'Je suis faim' (instead of 'J'ai faim' = 'I am hungry'), I say : 'Well, no, you're no that fine' [laughter] ('fin' (fine) and 'faim' being homophones). So, it helps us keep a cheerful mind.
- *Interviewer: [laughter] c'est vraiment sympa.
that's really nice.
- *Interviewer: tu penses avoir quel impact sur le niveau de français?
what impact do you think you have on their level of French skills?
- *Vanessa: ben de les pousser un peu quand même, de faire un peu plus d'efforts, de faire, de les pousser à l'école parce qu'à l'école c'est très simple de s'asseoir au cours et en fait de rien faire. *I still push them a little, so they make a little more effort, so they do, I push them at school because in school, it's very easy to just sit in the classroom and do nothing.*
- *Vanessa: évidemment qu'ils comprennent, mais je leur dis: 'tu peux faire un p'tit plus quand même, faire ton cahier', ben du coup, Ella s'est rendu compte : 'ah ben je peux faire ça et ça', donc il y a un peu, les pousser un peu à faire un peu plus en fait, que ce qu'ils font.
of course they do understand but I tell them: 'You can do a little bit more and work on your book'. And so, Ella has realised: 'Oh I can do this and I can do that'. So, it's, pushing them to do a little bit more than what they already do.
- *Interviewer: et ça a quel degré d'important pour toi qu'ils apprennent le français?
and how important is it to you that they learn French?

- *Vanessa: hmm sur une échelle de 0 a 10, je dirais peut-être 7 ou 8, quand même assez important parce que derrière c'est ma culture, c'est ma vie jusqu'à ce que je vienne en Angleterre. *hmm on a scale from 0 to 10, perhaps 7 or 8, so quite important. Because it's still my culture, it was my life until I came to England.*
- *Vanessa: ça fait 20 and que je suis en Angleterre donc c'est plutôt moitié-moitié, mais ça n'empêche que c'est le reste de la famille, ça fait partie de leur culture, c'est ce qu'ils sont quoi. *I have been in England for 20 years so it's about half-half, but it's still the rest of the family, it's part of their culture, that's who they are.*
- *Interviewer: quels sont leurs sentiment, d'après toi envers la langue française, comment ils le vivent où le perçoivent ? *according to you, how do they feel about the French language? how do they experience or perceive it?*
- *Vanessa: euh c'est un effort [laughter]. *euh it's an effort [laughter]*
- *Vanessa: pour eux c'est un effort je pense et euh puis c'est maman quoi, c'est peut-être [pause] je sais pas en fait. Je me suis jamais trop demandé non plus. *I think that for them it's an effort and euh, it's mum, it's maybe [pause] I don't know actually. I never really thought about it.*
- *Interviewer: je leur demanderai justement [laughter] *I will ask them that precisely [laughter]*
- *Vanessa: [laughter] ce serait intéressant d'avoir leur point de vue. *[laughter] it would be interesting to have their point of view.*
- *Interviewer: et comment perçoivent-ils, d'après toi, tes efforts pour promouvoir le français? *and how do you think they perceive your efforts to promote French?*
- *Vanessa: je sais pas. *I don't know.*
- *Vanessa: l'école française ça les intéresse pas trop, mais euh, ouais je sais pas, c'est, je pense, c'est peut-être pas une corvée, mais un peu, faut faire un effort quoi: est-ce que je veux faire un effort ? est-ce que je veux faire plaisir à maman? je pense que c'est peut-être plus pour me faire plaisir qu'autre chose. *French school doesn't interest them much. But euh, yeah, I don't know. It's, I think, it's perhaps a chore, just a little, it requires some effort. Do I want to make an effort? Do I want to please mum? I think that it's to please me more than anything else.*
- *Interviewer: tu penses que ton approche a quel effet sur ta relation avec eux? *what effect do you think your approach has on your relationship with them?*
- *Vanessa: Je sais pas. *I don't know.*
Ouais j'ai pas trop réfléchi à cet impact. C'est assez relaxe. *I haven't really thought of the impact, It's rather relaxed.*
- *Vanessa: Bon c'est vrai que c'est leur faire comprendre que c'est bien de partager quelque chose aussi quoi, après ils en prennent ce qu'ils veulent, ben disons que je suis la seule à faire, à pousser la langue française a la maison, donc euh, c'est un peu difficile quand je suis toute seule d'avoir à être tout le temps le *bad cop* en fait parce que je suis la seule à pousser, donc, et à la parler correctement. *I haven't really thought of the impact, It's rather relaxed. well it's true that I let them know that it's nice for us to share something. Then they can do what they want with it. And since I*

am the only one to, to push the French language at home, so euh, it's a little difficult for me to be the only bad cop all the time because I am the only one who pushes for it, so, and the only one who speaks it.

*Interviewer: tu vois ça comme un rôle de *bad cop* alors ?
so you see this as being the bad cop?

*Vanessa: oui un peu, je veux pas non plus que ce soit vu comme ça, donc euh, qu'il y ait un aspect où ils veulent le faire en fait, non pas juste être obligé de le faire. Y a des fois où je dis: 'Oui tu peux le dire ça en français' donc renforcer l'aspect un peu positif : 'Tu as un bon niveau, tu peux faire ce genre de chose'.
yes somewhat but I don't want it to be perceived that way, so, euh, they need to want to do it, not just feel obliged to do it. There are times when I say: 'you can say that in French'. It's about highlighting the positive aspect : 'you are good at it, you can do this sort of thing'.

*Interviewer: et penses-tu que l'approche que tu as choisie est liée à la personnalité de tes enfants?
and do you think that the approach you chose has to do with your children's personality?

*Vanessa: ben disons que c'est un peu [hesitation], c'est la façon de, l'interaction que j'avais avec eux aussi, je voyais bien que, bon c'est pas qu'il y avait une réticence mais que des fois, quand je leur parlais trop en français, derrière y avait rien, y avait pas de réponse quoi, donc, ça sert à rien de pousser si derrière ils veulent pas le faire. *well, I would say that it's [hesitation], it's the way, the interactions I use to have with them. I could see that, it's not that they were reluctant, but sometimes, when I spoke French to them, there was nothing there, there was nothing in response, so, there's no point pushing if they don't want to do it.*

*Interviewer: donc dirais-tu que tu as ajusté?
so, would you say that you adjusted?

*Vanessa: je pense oui.
I think so.

*Interviewer: et quand ils étaient tout petits?
and when they were very little?

*Vanessa: tout petits c'était facile et puis, je vois, on a une vidéo où il essayait de dire *escargot*, il avait 2 ans et demi, c'est trop marrant, enfin, [kago] [laughter]. *when they were little, it was easy, and for example, we have a video where he's trying to say 'escargot' (snail), he was 2 and a half, it's so funny, well, [kago] [laughter]*

*Vanessa: et puis en fait quand tu réécoutes tu te dis : 'ah oui en fait il essayait de dire *escargot* en français'. c'était mignon quoi, et c'est vrai que quand ils étaient plus petits c'était plus facile parce qu'il y avait moins d'influence de dehors quoi, y avait plus de, le rapport était plus *one to one*, que *one-d'autres* personnes qui parlent pas français.
and actually when you listen to this again you realise : 'oh yes, it was actually trying to say 'escargot' in French, It was cute, and it's true that when they were little it was easier because they had fewer influences from outside, there was more, there were one-to-one interactions, rather than with people who don't speak French.

*Interviewer: oui. *yes..*

*Interviewer: tu as des regrets?

- do you have any regrets ?*
- *Vanessa: oh peut-être un peu, mais bon [sigh] pourquoi se battre avec ça aussi ? c'est pas, c'est aussi pour, pour, la *sanité* de la famille [laughter], Il faut laisser aller un p'tit peu sinon c'est, on se prend la tête nous même en fait, et puis on est jamais content du coup, et puis bon, tous les deux ils se débrouillent très bien à l'école donc c'est pas non plus, faut pas, faut voir les aspects positifs aussi.
oh, perhaps a little, but [sigh] why fight this? it's not, it's also for, for the family's mental well-being [laughter], one needs to let go a little otherwise it's, one goes nuts, and then one is never satisfied, and anyway, they're both doing very well at school so it's not, one has to see the positive side of things.
- *Interviewer: that's a good attitude.
c'est une bonne attitude
- *Interviewer: j'ai une dernière question: comment compléteraistu cette phrase: 'élever un enfant de façon bilingue c'est...'
I have one last question : how would you complete this sentence : 'raising a child bilingually is...'
- *Vanessa: euh c'est pas si facile que ça en fait [laughter], ça demande un effort constant je pense, parce que en fait, oui, c'est un effort constant. Il faut essayer de ne pas se laisser dans l'habitude, en fait, d'entendre que de l'anglais, ou de parler que de l'anglais, c'est un effort pour moi, plus que pour les enfants en fait parce que du coup, quand ils me répondent en anglais, je me dis: 'non, il faut pas que je réponde en anglais. Il faut que je fasse l'effort de leur répondre en français.' Et je pense que c'est ça qui fera qu'à la fin ils feront plus d'efforts, et ils réussiront mieux en français je pense.
euh it's not that easy actually [laughter]. I think that it requires a constant effort because, yes, it's a constant effort, one needs to not fall into the habit of only hearing English, or to only speak English. It's more of an effort for me than for the children. because when they respond to me in English, I am thinking: 'no, I shouldn't respond in English. I must make the effort to respond to them in French.'
- *Interviewer: tu penses qu'ils se sentent français ou anglais?
po you think that they feel French or English?
- *Vanessa: pour eux, ils sont français, ils sont moitié français, pour eux je pense que ça fait partie d'eux d'être français, en fait, c'est tout pour moi, de pousser ça, en fait le maillon faible c'est moi [laughter].
for them, they're French, they're half French. I think that for them being French is part of who they are, actually, it's all on me, I need to push, I am the weakest link [laughter]
- *Interviewer: quand tu es le seul maillon [laughter].
since you're the only link [laughter]
- *Vanessa: conc c'est vrai que c'est pas toujours facile, des fois mon mari me dit: 'tu dois faire plus d'efforts', je dis: 'ben oui mais, sympa quoi' [laughter].
so, it's true that it's not always easy, sometimes my husband tells me: 'you must make more efforts', I say: 'oh yeah that's nice of you' [laughter]
- *Interviewer: c'est vrai?? [laughter]
really?? [laughter]
- *Vanessa: oui, il me l'a dit plusieurs fois : 'ça tient qu'à toi', 'ben oui merci'.

yes, he told me many times: 'it's all up to you', 'ok then, thank you.'

*Interviewer: et lui ne parle pas français? [laughter]

and he doesn't speak any French? [laughter]

*Vanessa: non, Il a pas du tout, c'est pas son truc. Quand il était en Inde, il avait des cours de je sais plus quelle langue, en Inde, c'était hindi et autres dialectes, et il disait qu'il était nul quoi, une fois qu'il est venu en Angleterre en fait, il a tout oublié, Il a rien, rien, rien. Il pourrait pas parler un mot. Il comprend aucun autre dialecte. *No, not at all, that's not his thing. When he was in India, he had language lessons, I can't remember which, in India, it was Hindi and other dialects, and he would say that he was useless at it, once he came back to England, he forgot everything. He has nothing, nothing, nothing. He couldn't speak a word of it. He doesn't understand any other dialect.*

*Vanessa: sa mère encore oui, mais bon, comme à la maison ils parlaient anglais, même en Inde, c'était une maison anglaise de toutes façons, une communauté anglaise. *his mother does, but then, since they speak English at home, even in India, it was an English home anyway, an English community.*

*Vanessa: c'est marrant qu'il n'ait pas une envie d'apprendre, c'est pas du tout son truc.

it's funny that he doesn't want to learn. That's not his thing.

*Interviewer: tu penses que ça ferait une différence s'il était plus intéressé?

do you think that if he was interested it would make a difference?

*Vanessa: s'il était plus bilingue, on pourrait avoir des conversations en français, c'est sûr.

if he was bilingual, we could have conversations in French, for sure.

*Interviewer: il parle quelle langue avec ta famille.

what language does he speak with your family?

*Vanessa: il parle très peu, c'est moi qui fais toutes les traductions. puis au bout d'un moment je sais plus quelle langue je parle à qui, c'est vraiment fatigant donc c'est jamais des vacances très relaxes, donc l'été prochain on va en France parce que ça fait longtemps qu'on est pas allé en France et je sais déjà que ça va être galère. *he speaks very little, I am the one always translating, then at some point I no longer know in which language I am speaking to whom, it's really tiring so, the holidays are never really relaxing, so next year we're going to France because we haven't been for a long time and I already know that it's going to be a pain.*

*Vanessa: au mois d'octobre par exemple on y est allé tous les 3, je lui ai dit: 't'as pas besoin de venir' [laughter], c'est plus relaxe du coup parce que j'avais pas à m'occuper de lui.

Last October, for example, we went the 3 of us, I told him: 'You don't need to come' [laughter]. And so, it was more relaxing because I didn't need to take care of him.

*Interviewer: oui, et les enfants eux se débrouillent.

yes, and the children can manage.

*Vanessa: et puis eux ils se débrouillent, je mets la télé française, ils comprennent. Mon mari, tu mets la télé française, il s'ennuie donc c'est dur, du coup on finit par mettre des vieux James Bond où la version anglaise est disponible, et du coup c'est mon père qui comprend pas. *and they manage. I play French TV, they*

understand. If you play French TV for my husband, he gets bored so, it's difficult. And so, we end up playing some old James Bond in English, and then, it's my father who doesn't understand.

*Vanessa: mon père est un peu old school, le peu que Carl puisse parler, mon père écoute pas, franchement [laughter], Carl a complètement [pause] il dit : 'je lui parle plus à ton père, il me répond pas' [laughter], Il zappe complètement quand il est en France [laughter] *My father is a little old school to be honest [laughter], Carl completely [pause] he says: 'I am no longer speaking with your father; he doesn't respond to me' [laughter], he completely disconnects when he's in France [laughter].*

@End m4a"_0_24106

APPENDIX H: Sample Child Interview

@Languages: English

@Participants: INTERVIEWER Interviewer, ERIC Child, ELLA Child,
ERIC & ELLA TOGETHER

@ID: Pk1 English|interviews with
children|INTERVIEWER||female||Interviewer||

@ID: Pk2 English|interviewers with children|ERIC|12;|male||Child||

@ID: Pk3 English|interviewers with children|ELLA|13;|female||Child||

@ID: Pk4 English|interviews with children|ERIC & ELLA TOGETHER||||Child||

@Begin

*pk1: on parle en français ou en anglais?

*pk2: anglais [smiling]

*pk3: en anglais

*pk1: so, you're 13 [addressing Ella] and 11 [addressing Eric], right?

*pk4: [nodding]

*pk1: as I explained to you before, I'd like to show you a few pictures and ask questions about the languages you speak at home. Imagine that the young person on the pictures is you.

*pk1: so here [1st picture item], you're at home in the living-room with mum. what language is she speaking to you?

*pk3: french and English, depends.

*pk2: hmm depends how's she's feeling, when she's angry she speaks French, but sometimes she speaks English.

*pk3: most of the time she speaks French. But sometimes she does speak English.

*pk2: yeah.

*pk1: and what language do you speak to her?

*pk3: I'd probably reply in English.

*pk2: hmm English or [interrupted by Ella]

*pk3: english mostly.

*pk2: yeah English but if I want to get something, I'll speak French.

*pk1: if you want to get something? [laughter]

*pk4: [laughter] Yes

*pk1: when you are all together at home, what language do you speak?

*pk2: hmm English.

*pk3: yeah cause our dad is English so it's Easier to speak English. Because if we speak French, he can't understand.

*pk1: and between each other?

*pk4: oh English [laughter]

*pk2: but for our summer camp, if we don't want anyone to know what we're saying we speak in French.

*pk3: [laughter]

*pk1: interesting [laughter] Hmm so on this picture [2nd picture item], you're doing homework, with mum.

*pk3: I don't normally do homework with my mum.

*pk2: I don't do homework with my mum. I do it with myself at school.

*pk1: how about when you were younger?

*pk2: never. Yeah...

*pk3: no, yeah, I normally do it by myself.

*pk2: yeah, I usually do it by myself.

*pk3: yeah, it's easier.

*pk1: how about when you're outside, at the supermarket [3rd picture item]? What languages do you use?

*pk2: both. Whatever I feel like.

*pk3: [pause] It depends, Yeah.

*pk1: so outside, you sometimes speak French, sometimes English?

*pk2: yeah, sometimes French but [pause]

*pk3: but mostly English.

*pk2: but in shops, she [his mother] speaks French. If she says, oh yeah 'attrapez une pomme' in French.

*pk3: [laughter]

*pk1: so, if what sort of situation does mum speak English?

*pk3: hmm when we're around my dad, she only speaks more English because, so that he can understand.

*pk2: but when it's just us 3 then she speaks French.

*pk3: yeah. So, if it's just the three of us.

*pk1: ok. What about you? When do you speak French to her?

*pk2: hmm well, usually when she comes home, we normally speak French to her, my dad is not home.

*pk3: we try to speak French to her but it's like, well she's French. So, it's maybe easier for her, maybe, I dunno.

*pk2: but yeah, we speak French when she comes home.

*pk1: ok. Hmm How do you feel about speaking French to your mum?

*pk2: hmm not really bothered.

*pk3: hmm since I'm a bit uncomfortable speaking French because I might say something wrong, so...Yeah, but most of the time it's quite easy. I just don't wanna say something wrong.

*pk2: yeah because I'll say something and then I'll ask: "how do you say this word in French?".

*pk1: ok. next picture [4th picture item], you might be a bit too old for that, if you're outside with friends, and they hear you speak French. How do you feel?

*pk3: french?

*pk1: no, outside, at the park for example. There are English friends or children around.

*pk3: I feel like they might look at us because we're speaking a different language but...

*pk2: I don't really have an opinion on it because if she speaks French to me, I'll speak French back because it's normal.

*pk1: in front of other people?

*pk2: yeah. if it's like in town centre, I don't know anyone. I don't know why I would feel embarrassed.

*pk1: what about you [addressing Ella]

*pk3: I sometimes reply in English, sometimes reply in French.

*pk1: how about, at your English school? Does anyone know that you speak French?

*pk2: yes! Everyone.

*pk3: I kept it secret for a while because when we're in French lesson everybody asks me for answers. But I had to tell my French teacher because she kept giving me easy work.

*pk2: everyone knows I'm French because on my first day, Hmm, my teacher said: "Does anyone know French already?". So, I replied: 'Yeah I know French because my mum is French'. So, now everyone asks me the questions.

*pk3: yeah everyone asks me for answers, it's kind of annoying.

*pk1: how does it make you feel?

*pk2: hmm not that different, apart from when people ask me for answers.

*pk3: yeah but like, this doesn't happen with every subject [laughter].

*pk1: ok. So, on this picture [5th picture item], this is French school. Why do you come to French school?

*pk3: I feel like you're under pressure to say things, like, more properly. Because it's like, everyone is French.

*pk2: I feel I'm weird because I have to go to French school on a Saturday.

*pk2: yeah, I've already been to school for five days!

*pk2: and I don't want to go to school an extra day.

*pk3: I like coming here. It's fun.

*pk2: yeah, for you [smiling]

*pk1: [laughter] So do you like it here or not? Once you're here?

*pk2: no.

*pk3: I like it here. You learn more, because normal school, we don't learn that much.

*pk2: yeah speak for yourself, I have to do A-Level at school.

*pk1: [addressing Ella] So what do you like about French school?

*pk3: hmm you just get to learn different things, that you don't necessarily know that much before.

*pk1: you said there was pressure?

*pk3: yeah sometimes it's like, you don't wanna say it wrong. So yeah, you just don't wanna say something wrong.

*pk1: who tells you that what you're saying is wrong?

*pk3: well they don't say it's wrong, but they correct you. You don't want to, like, get corrected all the time. It's kind of like you don't really know that much french.

*pk1: does it happen a lot? That you get corrected?

*pk3: hmm not necessarily. I don't know.

*pk2: more with verbs that I get corrected

*pk3: yeah

*pk2: because I get the wrong Hmm [pause]

*pk3: or if I get the wrong order in a sentence.

*pk1: How about you Eric, how do you feel about being corrected at French school?

*pk2: I don't really feel that bothered about it because I know that I'll get things wrong because I'm not a master of French. Hmm, I know that I'll get things wrong so I don't feel that bad If I get corrected because I know the next time that I should use that.

*pk1: what do you mean by "I'm not a master of French"?

*pk2: well, I [hesitation] I don't know all of it because there are still things that I struggle with in class. So, so, the things that we do here [French school] are a lot harder that we do, ever do at school.

*pk3: speaking is easier.

*pk2: yeah speaking is easier than writing.

*pk1: so here it's more reading and writing?

*pk2: yeah, it's reading and writing more than, like, speaking. Because speaking is not the hard part.

*pk3: yeah.

*pk1: do you think it's important for you to learn how to read and write French?

*pk3: yeah because it's easier for us, for example if you watch something with subtitles, you know what they're saying.

*pk2: yeah so it doesn't sound like someone talking gibberish.

*pk3: otherwise you get bored.

*pk1: so, on the last picture [6th picture item] you're reading a book. Is this a french or English book?

*pk3: hmm mostly English because of school, English school.

*pk2: mum says to me: "Eric, read in French".

*pk3: yeah, she just wants us to, like, be fluent in French.

*pk2: she shovels it down my throat.

*pk3: no, she doesn't.

*pk2: [addressing Ella] You think it's needed?

*pk3: yeah.

*pk2: have you heard of such a thing as a translator? If you're going to Africa you don't need to learn Swahili.

*pk3: you don't need to translate if you know it. Anyway, we're not talking about that.

*pk1: [laughter] Are there any language rules at home?

*pk3: hmm, sometimes we'd have a whole night just speaking only French and my dad would have to like follow.

*pk2: yes, we do have a language rule: every time we come back from here we have to speak French.

*pk3: yeah. But until that breaks off. Then we speak English again.

*pk1: so how long does it last?

*pk2: half an hour, yeah you have to go to gymnastics.

*pk3: I have to go to gymnastics straight after this. So, I don't really.

*pk2: so perhaps 15 minutes.

*pk1: so, 15 minutes where you have to speak French?

*pk3: well we also have to have lunch in that time, so we really don't speak that much [laughter]

*pk2: I just put my headphones on, I don't wanna listen.

*pk1: [laughter] So what do you think of that rule?

*pk2: hmm I find, I find it quite [interrupted by Ella]

*pk3: it helps us with our French.

*pk2: we have to say what we did in our lesson. It's not really a rule. It's an unofficial official rule.

*pk3: yeah.

*pk2: it's not implied, but you have to do it.

*pk1: is that the only time where your mum says you must speak French?

*pk2: it's the only time where we HAVE to speak French.

*pk3: yeah but she doesn't really mind if we don't want to speak French. it's like, it's on us.

*pk2: yeah, you only speak French when you want something.

*pk3: nah I speak French when I need to.

*pk1: [laughter] otherwise she doesn't ask specifically to speak French.

*pk3: well she does want us to speak French but sometimes it's easier for us to speak English.

*pk2: if we have to explain something from school it's easier for us to do it in english.

*pk3: because we, like, grew up around that language, even though our mum speaks to us in French, as we were growing up, but yeah.

*pk1: and when you speak English to your mum, how does she react?

*pk3: she probably speaks back in French or in English.

*pk2: yeah, she doesn't really care if we speak in English, but, Hmm, if we speak in French...

*pk4: she'll reply in French. it's rare that she does reply in English.

*pk1: and when English friends come over...

*pk2: yeah, she'll definitely speak English. None of them understand French.

*pk3: to us she'll speak English, if she wants my friends to know what we're saying, but she does [hesitation]

*pk2: if she doesn't want our friends to know what she's saying she'll speak in french, but that's a bit counterintuitive, if I've got a friend over that she'd be speaking French.

*pk1: ok. And you'd answer in what language?

*pk2: english.

*pk3: probably English.

*pk2: english! [laughter]

*pk3: it's a bit embarrassing speaking French in front of my friends cause they're like, "oh keep speaking French, it sounds so good", I'm like...[rolling eyes].

*pk2: speak for yourself.

*pk1: and you know, my children sometimes mix French and English, for example: 'Je veux des sweeties' or 'I don't want to do my devoirs' (homework).

*pk3: [laughter]

*pk1: do you say stuff like that?

*pk3: I do sometimes if I don't know how to say the French word.

*pk2: quite a bit. I'd say: 'Can I have this', in French and then I would say the word I want to have in English. Then I go back to French.

*pk3: depends if I know the word in French. Franglais [laughter]

*pk2: or I just say the word how I think it would be.

*pk1: so why do you think that you mix the two?

*pk3: cause sometimes you don't know how to say it.

*pk1: do you only do that when speaking to your mum, or with other people too?

*pk3: with our French family we try hard to just, like, speak French. If I need to know something, I'll ask my mum and then go back and say it [laughter].

*pk2: or I just use Google Translate if we're by ourselves.

*pk3: yeah, if we go to France by ourselves. But it's easy to speak French with our French family because sometimes they help us. If we don't know.

*pk2: we do our very best to describe.

*pk3: and then they'll know what we're trying to say. So, they don't, like, correct us or anything.

*pk1: do you understand everything they say?

*pk3: most of the time. But when they say like, old French phrases or things like that maybe not.

*pk2: on TV shows, I can understand it but if they talk quickly...

*pk3: it's like the music, it's hard to follow.

*pk2: remember when we went to see the Rock band, the person had an accent and he spoke very quickly.

*pk3: oh yeah, if they speak very very quickly then I can't understand.

*pk2: I know some stuff, like historical stuff.

*pk3: yeah, we went on a historical trip, and we didn't really know some of the stuff in French, because it was historical.

*pk2: because we wouldn't use words like that [interrupted by Ella]

*pk3: everyday.

*pk1: how easy is it to say everything you want to say when you're in France?

*pk2: I think it's Ok.

*pk3: it's OK but sometimes I don't know what to say in French. Most of the time it's quite easy.

*pk2: yeah.

*pk1: how do you feel when you have to speak to them?

*pk2: I'm not really bothered because I know most of the words.

*pk3: they know what we're trying to say even if we say it wrong.

*pk2: they can pick out what we're going to say.

*pk3: yeah. It's quite easy to speak with them.

*pk1: you feel comfortable?

*pk3: hmm hmm [nodding]

*pk1: ok. so, do you think it's ok to mix languages?

*pk3: hmm [hesitation] it's normal for us, not to, like, change it all the time. But when we don't know a word, we just say it in English, it's easier.

*pk2: I don't have second thoughts from going From French to English. It's automatic.

*pk3: yeah.

*pk1: cool. And do you think that there are times when it's wrong to speak french, or wrong to speak English?

*pk2: yeah, if all of our French family are around, speaking English is very rude. and vice versa with our English family, Hmm [hesitation]

*pk3: mum speaks to us in French in front of our English family. if we're round our French family, we shouldn't really speak English.

*pk2: we shouldn't speak English. But we should speak English to our dad.

*pk3: yeah.

*pk1: what if you're around people who speak the two languages?

*pk3: hmm depends

*pk2: depends.

*pk3: depends where we are.

*pk2: I have a friend at school who is fluent in French, but I never speak to him in french. I always speak to him in English

*pk3: because you've got other English friends around.

*pk2: yeah. if I've got hmm our cousin speaks French like us, so we just speak to him in English.

*pk3: our cousins live in London, but their mum is French like ours.

*pk3: but I don't think one of our cousins speaks that much French but...

*pk2: X speaks more than us.

*pk3: yeah X she did her GCSEs.

*pk2: yeah if you've done your A-Level or GCSE in French.

*pk1: ok I see do you think it's important to learn French?

*pk2: yeah cause our parents [interrupted by Ella]

*pk3: yeah, our whole family is French.

*pk2: we wouldn't be able to communicate if we didn't.

*pk3: yeah.

*pk1: so, it's important

*pk4: yeah

*pk2: sort of.

*pk1: so, do you think that speaking different languages at school and at home is a good thing?

*pk4: yeah.

*pk3: it actually helps with a lot of things. It's just [pause] like everyday stuff, well not every day, when we're like [pause] I dunno...it just helps. Like it's easier to do other languages, like when I'm learning Spanish

*pk2: yeah cause it's like the same rules for the verbs, sort of. Cause I'm starting to learn Spanish, hmm, in school. So, I can sort of get it easier because I know French.

*pk3: yeah, it's not as hard as learning a different language.

*pk2: yeah because French and Spanish are quite similar.

*pk1: they're romance languages. Good. So, what would you say are the good things about speaking two languages?

*pk2: it that you can, like, talk to more people, so if, so you're not just restricted, if you travel, you're not restricted to countries that only speak English.

*pk3: because other countries speak French, like when we went to Belgium, they didn't only speak [interrupted by Eric]

*pk2: they speak English there.

*pk3: they spoke English, but they also spoke French.

*pk2: they speak Dutch, and French and Dutch because we went to the North, not South.

*pk1: and what are the bad things about speaking two languages?

*pk3: sometimes it's hard to remember.

*pk2: it's sometimes hard to remember some words. Sometimes I forget words, so I say the English word in French.

*pk3: sometimes I know the word in English but can't remember what it's like in French. It's kind of confusing, well, not confusing but, yeah.

*pk1: why do you think that your mum wants you to learn French?

*pk2: she says it will help us in the future.

*pk3: or to just communicate with our family.

*pk2: and apparently, it's going to help us with our job applications. That's what my dad always says anyway.

*pk1: your dad says that?

*pk3: yeah. And he's the English one [laughter]

*pk2: he sort of speaks French.

*pk3: he can say some words. He knows very little. Like, I dunno. what does he say? [asking Eric]

*pk2: he says Hmm: "Ella, viens ici".

*pk3: ou "Arrête ça" [laughter]

*pk1: [laughter]

*pk3: the simple stuff.

*pk1: are you allowed to speak English here, at French school?

*pk4: no

*pk2: but I do.

*pk3: I speak, like, between my friends, English. But we're meant to speak French.

*pk2: in class, I speak French but, I speak English very softly.

*pk1: is it a rule that you cannot speak English?

*pk3: I think it's not like,

*pk2: it's not a written down rule but

*pk3: we're meant to speak French.

*pk2: it's an unwritten rule.

*pk1: what do you think of that unwritten rule?

*pk2: I think they're trying to implement what we learn in the classroom to outside, so we communicate in French. not English

*pk3: so that it's easier.

*pk1: does this rule make sense to you?

*pk2: it sort of, but I don't do it.

*pk1: why not?

*pk2: because I prefer to speak English to my friends.

*pk3: because it's easier to speak in English. It's just like, easier.

*pk1: so how important is it to your mum that you speak French?

*pk2: very.

*pk3: yeah

*pk2: she thinks it's very important if we learn French.

*pk1: what makes you think that?

*pk2: because every time I say I've hurt my legs, she says: "well, you can hop around French school". I'm trying to make every excuse not to go, but she keeps on saying: "oh you have to go, you'll benefit from it".

*pk3: it helps us learn. Even if we don't speak that much French at home, we have to speak French here.

*pk2: yeah.

*pk1: if there a language you like best?

*pk2: hmm yes Norwegian.

*pk1: [laughter] Between English and French?

*pk2: oh

*pk3: [laughter]

*pk3: I find it easier to speak English but it's kind of fun to speak French because you don't really do it as often as you speak English.

*pk2: same as her.

*pk1: so, there isn't really one you prefer?

*pk2: I don't really have a favourite

*pk3: it's more fun speaking French because not as many people know what it is.

*pk1: I see. Would you refuse sometimes if mum says to speak French.

*pk4: yeah sometimes.

*pk3: if I'm tired.

*pk2: if I'm tired I will NOT speak French. If, if she says something in French I'll just reply in English.

*pk3: it depends if I'm tired.

*pk2: I won't flat out refuse, I won't say: "No I'm not doing that". I'll just respond in English.

*pk3: I was in France once. I had to go to the doctor's. I just asked my mum to translate because I wasn't feeling like I should speak French.

*pk2: you fell on the floor.

*pk3: [laughter]

*pk1: [laughter] Ok. Last question. So, let's take turn. [to Eric] When you're a dad, will you teach French to your children?

*pk2: [sighing] Probably. Because I don't want all my suffering to go unnoticed.

*pk1: your...?

*pk2: my suffering to go unnoticed. I have to go through [interrupted by Ella]

*pk3: you're just moaning about going to French Club.

*pk2: I'm not gonna let 10 years of French school go unnoticed.

*pk3: well, it's so they can speak to their family, because they'll still have the same families.

*pk1: [Ella] so you will teach them French?

*pk3: hopefully. I just want to be more fluent in French, more than I am already.

*pk1: you want your French to become better?

*pk3: hmm [nodding]

*pk1: how are you going to do that?

*pk3: I have set a goal for myself, to speak French all the time to my mum. But I haven't, like, kept that goal. But I did when I was in France.

*pk2: yeah. When we're in France, we'll speak French. But if we're mostly by ourselves, we'll speak English.

*pk3: to each other.

*pk2: but if our grandparents are around...

*pk4: we'll speak French.

*pk1: so how would you describe your level of French at the moment?

*pk3: it's not fluent.

*pk2: it's not fluent, but I'd say it's fluent compared to everyone in my school.

*pk3: it's not fluent fluent.

*pk2: I know enough to get along.
*pk3: yeah [laughter] Eric & Ella-m4a" _415729_419781
@end

APPENDIX I: Information Sheet for Parents



Dear Parent,

My name is Sonia Wilson and I am Doctoral Research Student at the Open University in Milton Keynes.

I would like to tell you about my PhD project, which I hope will be of interest to you. The aim of my research is to explore the following questions:

- *What are French parents' approach to childhood bilingualism and how does it determine the family language practices?*
- *How do children experience bilingualism and how they respond to their parents' approach?*

In order to investigate the experience of French-English bilingual families in the UK, I am inviting you to participate in this research project. Children must be between 5 and 18 years old.

The study will be carried out over the next 12 months and involves:

- An online survey for the French speaking parent
- A face-to-face interview with the French-speaking parent.
- A face-to-face interview with your child. You may be present during the interview if your child would like you to.
- Email questions for the other parent.
- Observation of family language practices.

Should your child feel uncomfortable during the interview, he or she may stop at any time.

Your participation in this project is entirely voluntary and all data will remain confidential. Your personal information will be kept anonymous.

If you agree to participate, you can withdraw at any time and request the destruction of any data that has been gathered from you until it is anonymised at the point of transcription on 1st June 2018. After this point, data will have been processed and it will not be possible to withdraw any unprocessed data.

The results of the final study will be made available to all participants after completion of the project. A copy of the interview recording of your child can be sent to you if you wish.

The enclosed consent forms for parent and children must be completed before the start of the interview. Additionally, your child will sign an assent form before being interviewed.

If you have any queries or concerns, please feel free to contact me by email:

Sonia.wilson@open.ac.uk or by telephone on 07456 579839.

Supervisor: Dr Tim Lewis, at the Open University:

Email: tim.lewis@open.ac.uk

The Open University, WELS Faculty, MK7 6AA

Thank you!

APPENDIX J: Information Sheet for children



Letter of Information to Children

Dear participant,

My name is Sonia Wilson and I am doing a research project at The Open University in Milton Keynes.

I would like to tell you about my research work. My project is to understand the experience of children who live in England, and whose parents speak another language than English.

I am inviting you to participate in this project because you attend a French School every Saturday.

If you decide to take part, you and I will have a friendly conversation about what speaking French means to you

Whether you participate in my research or not is your decision. You do not have to take part if you do not want to. If you decide to participate, it is OK if you later change your mind.

If you have any questions or if you would like to participate, please ask your parents to contact me.

Sonia.wilson@open.ac.uk or by telephone on 07456 579839.

Thank you!

Sonia Wilson, The Open University, WELS Faculty, MK7 6AA

Supervisor: Dr Tim Lewis, at the Open University:

Email: tim.lewis@open.ac.uk

The Open University, WELS Faculty, MK7 6AA

APPENDIX K: Assent Form for Children

FACULTY OF WELL-BEING, EDUCATION & LANGUAGE STUDIES



Research Study: Parental Approach to Bilingualism and Children's Language Attitudes: The Case of Bilingual French-English Families in the UK.

ASSENT FORM FOR CHILDREN (to be completed by the child and their parent/guardian)

Please circle the answers you agree with below (Parent/guardian to complete if the child is unable):

Have you read information about this project?	Yes/No
Has somebody else explained this project to you?	Yes/No
Do you understand what this project is about?	Yes/No
Have you asked all the questions you want?	Yes/No
Have you had your questions answered in a way you understand?	Yes/No
Do you understand it's OK to stop taking part at any time?	Yes/No
Are you happy to take part?	Yes/No

If any answers are 'no' you can ask more questions.
But if you **don't** want to take part, **don't** sign your name!

If you do want to take part, please write your name and today's date

Your name _____

Date _____

Your parent or guardian must write their name here too if they are happy for you to do the project

Print Name _____

Sign _____

Date _____

The researcher who explained this project to you needs to sign too:

Print Name _____

Sign _____

Date _____

APPENDIX L: Consent Form for Parents

Appendix L.1: Consent Form for Parents (Interview)

FACULTY OF WELL-BEING, EDUCATION &
LANGUAGE STUDIES



Consent form for persons participating in a research project

**Research study: Parental Approach to Bilingualism and Children's Language Attitudes:
Bilingual French-English Families in the UK.**

Name of participant: _____

Name of principal investigator(s): Sonia Wilson _____

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written statement in plain language to keep.
2. I understand that my participation will involve a parents' face-to-face interview and a face-to-face interview with my child. I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the plain language statement.
3. I acknowledge that:
 - a. the possible effects of participating in this research have been explained to my satisfaction;
 - b. I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project without explanation or prejudice and to request the destruction of any data that have been gathered from me until it is anonymized at the point of transcription on 1st June 2018. After this point, data will have been processed and it will not be possible to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided;
 - c. I have been informed that my child may withdraw at any time during the interview should she or he feel uncomfortable.
 - d. the project is for the purpose of research.
 - e. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements;
 - f. I have been informed that with my consent the data generated will be stored on the researcher's private computer and will be destroyed after five years;

- g. If necessary, any data from me will be referred to by a pseudonym in any publications arising from the research;
- h. I have been informed that a summary copy of the research findings will be forwarded to me, should I request this.

I consent to my interview being audio-recorded ☐ **yes** ☐ **no**
(please tick)

I consent to my child's interview being audio-recorded ☐ **yes** ☐ **no**
(please tick)

Participant signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix L.2: Consent Form for Parents (Observation)

FACULTY OF WELL-BEING, EDUCATION & LANGUAGE STUDIES

Consent form for persons participating in a research project

**Research study: Parental Approach to Bilingualism and Children's Language Attitudes:
Bilingual French-English Families in the UK.**

Name of participant: _____

Name of principal investigator(s): Sonia Wilson _____

1. I consent to participate in this project, the details of which have been explained to me, and I have been provided with a written statement in plain language to keep.
2. I understand that the researcher, Sonia Wilson, will visit me, in my home, to observe interactions within my family. I agree that the researcher may use the results as described in the plain language statement.
3. I acknowledge that:
 - a. the possible effects of participating in this research have been explained to my satisfaction;
 - b. I have been informed that I am free to withdraw from the project without explanation or prejudice and to request the destruction of any data that have been gathered from me until it is anonymized at the point of transcription on 1st June 2018.

After this point, data will have been processed and it will not be possible to withdraw any unprocessed data I have provided;

- c. I have been informed that any member of the family (adults and children) may withdraw at any time during the observation should she or he feel uncomfortable. Should this happen, the researcher will stop the observation task and leave my home immediately.
- d. the project is for the purpose of research.
- e. I have been informed that the confidentiality of the information I provide will be safeguarded subject to any legal requirements;
- f. I have been informed that with my consent the data generated will be stored on the researcher's private computer and will be destroyed after five years;
- g. If necessary any data from me will be referred to by a pseudonym in any publications arising from the research;
- h. I have been informed that a summary copy of the research findings will be forwarded to me, should I request this.

I consent to my conversations being audio-recorded

Parent 1 ☐ yes ☐ no

Parent 2 ☐ yes ☐ no

I consent to my child's conversations being audio-recorded

Parent 1 ☐ yes ☐ no

Parent 2 ☐ yes ☐ no

Participant 1 signature:

Date:

Participant 2 signature:

Date:
